

ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER: [SUPPLEMENT].

THE NINETEENTH ANNUAL REPORT

OF

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Price Fourpence Stamped.

[JULY 1, 1858.]

[Price Threepence Unstamped.]

CONTENTS.

SLAVE TRADE.		PAGE	SLAVERY.		PAGE
AFRICA. West Coast	1		AMERICA	4	
BRAZIL	1		BRAZIL	9	
CUBA. Immigrants	2		HOLLAND	10	
TURKEY	3		PORTUGAL	11	
MIXED COMMISSION AND VICE-ADMIRALTY			RUSSIA	12	
COURTS	3		SPAIN	12	
THE CRUISER SQUADRON	3		TURKEY	13	
EAST COAST OF AFRICA	3		HOME PROCEEDINGS	13	
OBSERVATIONS	3		REPORT OF ANNUAL MEETING	23	

REPORT.

THE Report which your Committee have to submit for the year 1857-58, contains much that is calculated deeply to interest the friends of the negro; and upon a careful review of the various circumstances connected with the Abolition movement during the past year, they are disposed to look hopefully forward, and are of opinion, that, on the whole, the cause has made evident progress.

THE SLAVE TRADE.

In this section of their annual review, your Committee profess to give merely a summary of the facts contained in the Slave-Trade Papers most recently submitted to Parliament. Those for the present year have not yet been published. Those for the year 1857 were produced only last August, immediately before the close of the session, and are the latest in the possession of your Committee. They contain returns from Her Majesty's Consuls, bearing date the 1st of January, 1857, and refer, therefore, to the events and occurrences of 1856. The inconvenience of so great a delay in the publication of correspondence relating to a subject so important, is obvious. Nearly one million sterling, variously distributed in the estimates, is annually expended in keeping up the complicated machinery employed for the suppression of the slave-trade; and it is not unreasonable to require that those who vote away this large proportion of the national revenue, should be placed in a position to offer an opinion respecting its appropriation, and that the community at large, who

contribute to it, should be earlier put in possession of the facts that justify it.

WEST AFRICA.—Considerable shipments of slaves continue to take place from the various ports on the West Coast, which are not likely to diminish so long as the Cuban market remains open. Since the expulsion of Kosoko, however, from Lagos, a great improvement in this respect has taken place; and Mr. Consul Campbell states that, from Cape Formoso to Porto Novo, the slave-trade may confidently be said to be extinct; at Whydah, and the small ports east and west of it, nearly so; and he adds, that if the chiefs of Aghwey, Great and Little Popoe, &c., where it is still secretly prosecuted, were forced to observe their treaties with Her Majesty's Government, Whydah would then be the only point from which the embarkation of slaves could take place. With regard to the delinquent chiefs referred to, Mr. Campbell is of opinion, that the mere threat of visiting them with the severe displeasure of the Government, would induce them to refuse permission to the slave-dealers to embark slaves from places within their jurisdiction. The attempts of the French to obtain so-called immigrants, have imparted a fresh stimulus to a traffic that was in course of being extinguished; and should this be persisted in, it is to be apprehended that the chiefs will succumb to the pernicious influence of old habits, and return to their former practices.

BRAZIL.—Since the local authorities in the various Brazilian ports, have directed their efforts to suppress slave-trading, by prosecuting the offenders wherever found, and by

other energetic measures, no landings of slaves appear to have been effected. The parties implicated in the Serinhaem transaction, referred to in the last Report, have been punished; and the greatest vigilance is being exercised to prevent a recurrence of similar attempts. Rumours were in circulation of the renewed activity of the slave-traders, whose cupidity was greatly excited by the present high price of slaves, but there seemed to exist little hope of their succeeding in carrying out their nefarious projects. Your Committee therefore feel much encouraged in the belief that the Brazilian slave-trade is really extinct.

CUBA.—The shameful extent to which this wicked traffic is being carried on to Cuba, remains a cause of reproach to Spain. According to the report of Her Majesty's Commissioners at Havanna, seven thousand three hundred and four slaves were landed during the year then expired; and out of the number reported, only fifty-four were captured, forty-nine of whom were seized upon information furnished by an agent of the Consul-General, who traced them to an estate, and denounced them to the authorities. The Commissioners affirm that the slave-trade is "carried on not only extensively, but almost with impunity," being attended with less risk than formerly, in consequence of the system of *cedulas* being so imperfectly maintained, that it has been converted into a means of protecting the negroes surreptitiously introduced. These *cedulas*, issued by the Government, were intended to operate as a registration of all the slaves; but the law rendering it compulsory that every slave should have one within a prescribed period, has not been enforced, and slave-traders having obtained them by bribing the authorities, these certificates have been used by them, to cover the transport of newly imported Africans from one part of the island to the other; so true is it that while the incentive to the vile traffic exists, there is no reasonable hope of its suppression by legislative enactments. Respecting the number of Bozal negroes reported to have been landed, your Committee have reason to believe it is always considerably under-stated, for it never tallies, by many thousands, with the returns published from time to time in the American newspapers, whose Havanna correspondents receive the most reliable information; nor with the accounts your Committee occasionally receive from persons who have visited Cuba, and made special inquiries on this head. It is obvious that the authorities have good reasons for not disclosing the real state of things, and a direct interest in misleading the slave-trade Commissioners, the accuracy of whose reports they always call in question, invariably charging them with exaggeration. From independent

sources of information, your Committee are enabled to assert, that the average annual importation of negroes into Cuba, ranges from fifteen thousand to twenty thousand. The entire system of disembarkation has been changed within the last few years, with a view to evade the cruisers stationed off the island of Cuba, and which draw too much water to permit them to follow the lighter vessels employed in the trade. Her Majesty's Commissioners allege that much more cunning and arrangement characterise it now, and that they "are every day more satisfied that there is no sort of confidence to be placed in the local authorities, as preventives of slave-trading." Slaves have risen from fifty to seventy-five per cent. in value; and this increased price enables the trader to surpass his liberality of former days, and their heavy bribes never fail to secure the connivance of the officials from the highest to the lowest. Admitting, however, the correctness of the opinion of Her Majesty's Commissioners, that, at certain periods, proofs have not been wanting "that the trade has diminished, and that upon the whole there is no doubt of its being very much restricted," your Committee submit, that even the alleged diminution in the number of slaves introduced, is no excuse for the continuance of a traffic which Spain is bound by treaty to suppress, and which it requires only an honest purpose to enable her to accomplish.

IMMIGRANTS.—Besides the seven thousand three hundred and four negroes introduced, as above stated by Her Majesty's Commissioners, three thousand eight hundred and sixty-eight men and seven women were imported from China into Cuba from the 23rd of February, to the 1st of September, 1856, to labour on the plantations. These were brought over in eleven vessels, carrying an average number of three hundred and fifty immigrants, the average mortality being upwards of fifty-five, or six and a half per cent. on an average passage of one hundred and twenty-one days. The smallest number of deaths was four out of one hundred and ninety-six; the greatest, one hundred and thirty-two out of two hundred, and one hundred and twenty-two out of one hundred and seventy-five, all on board of British vessels. In the two latter cases, the passage lasted one hundred and forty-nine days, and one hundred and seventy-one days respectively; the excessive mortality being attributable to typhus fever. The total number of Chinese Coolies imported into Cuba from the 3rd of June, 1847, to the 1st of September, 1856, is eleven thousand five hundred and eighty-six, who have all been absorbed into the slave population, for Mr. Consul Crawford affirms that they are treated with little more consideration, and that not more than one-half will outlive their eight years' term of service.

TURKEY.—The exportation of negro slaves from all the ports of the Regency of Tunis, one of the African provinces of the Turkish Empire, has been prohibited by an imperial decree from Constantinople. This Regency, however, is encompassed on three sides by an almost boundless desert, and on the fourth by an almost uninhabited sea-board of sixteen hundred miles, so that the evasion of the firman is comparatively easy. In consequence of these facilities for breaking the new law, shipments of slaves were taking place in the most open manner, and these unfortunate beings were not only landed almost daily in the Ottoman capital, but actually passed through the Custom-house as legitimate merchandize. During the years 1855 and 1856, the slave-trade to TRIPOLI had much increased, and it was computed that in the latter year there were at least six thousand in the Regency, awaiting shipment. In the four months, from the 5th of January to the 8th of April, means had been found to convey into CANEA and LUDA, in CRETE, from TRIPOLI, BENGAZI, and DERNÄ, nine hundred and ninety-four slaves, in fourteen vessels, and a trade in them was being prosecuted to SMYRNA, RHODES, SALONICA, and PREVESE, as well as to CONSTANTINOPLE direct. Between GHAT and TUAT, on the Algerine frontier, negroes were also being introduced by contraband, and openly, into MOROCCO. In the RED SEA too, between the ports of TAJOURON and HODEIDA, as many as two thousand negroes had been conveyed during the year 1856. This revival of the trade was accounted for by the high price negroes were then fetching in the Turkish marts, especially at Constantinople.

MIXED COMMISSION AND VICE-ADMIRALTY COURTS.

The reports from the Commissioners of the Mixed Commission Courts of SIERRA LEONE, HAVANNA, LOANDA, and the CAPE of GOOD HOPE, and of the Vice-Admiralty Courts of St. HELENA and SIERRA LEONE, present almost a perfect blank, only two cases having come before the latter. Your Committee would contrast this fact with the extraordinary activity of the slave-trade to Cuba, and submit, that the circumstance presents a reasonable ground for inquiry, to what extent the expensive machinery, of which these Courts form a part, has accomplished its object.

THE CRUISER SQUADRON.

WEST COAST OF AFRICA.—The reports of Her Majesty's officers, commanding on this coast, contain accounts of the destruction of a Spanish slaver, and of a barracoon in the Pongas river, on the 16th of May, 1856, (upwards of two years ago), and of the captures of the following vessels: an American slaver, the *General Pierce*, by a Portuguese

cruiser; of a brigantine, equipped for the slave-trade, by H.M.S. *Dolphin*; and of the slaver *Roberto*, by the *Teazer*.

EAST COAST OF AFRICA.—The Commander of the station informs the Secretary of the Admiralty, that the slave-trade from the East Coast appears to be extinct, and he therefore the more regrets the system of emigration carried on by the French between it and the Island of Bourbon. He is of opinion that, if persisted in, the chiefs will be stimulated to purchase slaves from the interior, to supply the demand. According to Mr. Consul Smiley's report to the Commodore, within the space of two months, one thousand one hundred and ninety had been bought, at forty dollars each, whilst the price paid by the Arabs, who prosecute the trade, is from eight to ten dollars each. It is carried on from the Comoro Islands, whence the slaves are transhipped by the French purchasers.

OBSERVATIONS.

Although, compared with past years, the slave-trade has on the whole considerably diminished, it is evident that, considering the large number of slaves which is still imported into Cuba, and the urgent demand for them, unceasing vigilance is necessary to prevent its revival to an unlimited extent. One of the most encouraging facts to be dwelt upon, is the vast development of native trade on the Western Coast of Africa, which has taken place within the last few years, and which is exerting the most beneficial influence in weaning the chiefs from their old habits. In his annual report to the Earl of Clarendon, Her Majesty's Acting-Judge at Sierra Leone says, he ventures to express it as his belief, "that although a tendency to slave-trading still exists, yet the trade is gradually becoming extinct; and as legitimate commerce is certainly increasing, affording employment to the domestic slave population, and amply remunerating their owners, the nation will find it more profitable to retain their services." He concludes with the following observation: "As men generally may be judged by self-interest as their leading principle, there cannot be much doubt that ere long the transportation of natives from this country, (Africa,) where their services are fully required, and can be turned to more profitable account, will become of rare occurrence, and must finally cease."

But some of the most important information on this subject that has yet reached this country, has been furnished by Mr. Consul Campbell, of Lagos, in his annual report on the trade of the Bight of Benin, for the year 1856. His figures he considers to be merely approximative, and below the actual amount of the exports, but they develop an activity of legitimate commerce, which is highly encouraging.

He had been furnished with the names of twenty-one vessels, of the aggregate of six thousand five hundred tons, from the single port of Bristol, which now annually load almost wholly in the Bight of Benin; some four or five from London, averaging three hundred tons each, usually chartered for the Portuguese traders at Whydah, Porto Novo, &c., to load with palm-oil for London, the proceeds of which are converted into Manchester and Glasgow fabrics; besides, latterly, some few under Dutch, others under Spanish, and one under Sardinian colours, which have taken cargoes of palm-oil, ivory, and cotton for their respective countries. He estimates the total quantity of palm-oil exported from the Bight of Benin as not short of 20,000 tons, valued at nearly one million sterling; though twelve years ago, scarcely sufficient could be procured to ballast the small vessels then employed in the coast trade. There is besides this an important trade carried on in ivory, and an increasing one in native raw cotton, which latter promises speedily to acquire an extraordinary development. Some eight years ago, the whole quantity of cotton exported from the West Coast, did not exceed three hundred pounds weight. In consequence, however, of a demand for this staple having sprung up, we find that in 1855, from the port of Abbeokuta alone, five thousand two hundred pounds were exported; in 1856, thirty-three thousand four hundred and ninety-five pounds; and in 1857, the native crop for export was estimated as likely to yield upwards of four millions of pounds. The whole of this quantity has been collected, all the labour performed, and the responsibility borne by native Africans alone; and there appears to be very little doubt that this branch of industry and commerce, is susceptible of development to any extent. Your Committee submit that these facts are pregnant of promise for the future of Africa. The increase in the cultivation for export of raw cotton alone, is unparalleled in the history of this useful plant. From the years 1784 to 1791, only sixty-four bales of it were brought to England from the United States, whereas, within a similar number of years, the exports from one African port alone, have risen from one bale to ten thousand, and other places are likely to follow the example of Abbeokuta.* Your Committee may here be permitted to quote, as expressive of their own views, the powerful observations of Mr. Consul Campbell, in concluding his report. He says:

* This important result has been attained by the energy and perseverance of one individual alone, Mr. T. Clegg, of Manchester, seconded by the Agents of the *Church Missionary Society* at Abbeokuta. His letters have appeared in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*.—Ed.

"The rapid development of the legitimate commercial resources of this part of Africa, demonstrates the enormous wrong done by the slave-trade, in staying for many years the great natural resources of the country, and tearing away, by violence and fraud, its inhabitants, to cultivate, under the pressure of the lash, in foreign lands, those very productions which the climate and soil of their own country are equally capable of producing, by that natural incentive to labour, the prospect of reaping and enjoying its fruits."

Your Committee are gratified to recognise the encouragement which Her Majesty's Government is affording to the development of native commerce on the coast, the importance of which, as a means of rooting out slave-trading habits, cannot be over-estimated. The recent despatch also of two expeditions up the Niger, to open trade with the country, and the departure of Dr. Livingstone to establish commercial relations with the natives on the East Coast, by means of the Zambesi river, explored by him, are highly interesting indications of the new spirit of the times. Your Committee regard these expeditions as the true pioneers of civilization in those districts. The continuance of the slave-trade to Cuba, is indeed the chief remaining obstacle to the conversion of the native Africans of the coast, to the arts and pursuits of civilized life, and to their general advancement in the social scale.

SLAVERY.

Under this head your Committee submit that the signs of progress are cheering.

AMERICA.

The great event of the past year has been the discussion in Congress on the admission of Kansas into the Union. It will be remembered that when your Committee presented their last review, Whitfield, the territorial delegate from Kansas, had taken his seat† in Congress; that the report of the Commission on Kansas had established beyond doubt, the grossest acts of fraud and violence committed by the pro-Slavery party in the territory, who had elected Whitfield and constituted the Legislature; and that the Committee on Territories had presented its report, which, though rejected by the Senate, had been accepted, by a large majority, in the House of Representatives. This report recommended the repudiation of the Acts of the Kansas Legislature, as those of a spurious body, and the repeal of the whole Kansas code, taking the same view as the Free-State men, namely, that the members of it had been elected by fraud and violence. Pending

† A territorial delegate has the right of speaking on any question, but not of voting. Whitfield was the delegate of the Bogus Kansas Legislature.—Ed.

the settlement of this question in Congress, the Legislature had passed a law on the 19th of February, providing for the election of delegates, on the third Monday in June, to meet in Convention at Lecompton, in Kansas, on the first Monday in September, for the purpose of framing a Constitution for the new State, preparatory to its admission into the Union. By the rejection of the Report on Territories, the entire question of the legality or illegality of the Territorial Legislature which had passed this law, was thrown back upon the people of Kansas; but the pro-Slavery party in the territory, were resolved not to allow it to be re-opened, and though having no legal existence, proceeded in the election of delegates to the Lecompton Convention. On the other hand, the Free-State men, acting on the same principles that had guided them throughout, protested against this proceeding, by electing delegates to another Convention, which assembled at Topeka; and abstained altogether from taking any part in the election of delegates to the Lecompton meeting.

Meanwhile, Mr. Buchanan, the new President, had manifested his sympathy with the pro-Slavery party, and recognised the lawful existence of the Kansas Legislature, by admitting the validity of the Territorial laws passed by it; ignoring entirely the circumstances under which the Legislature itself had been constituted. The Lecompton Convention, strengthened by the encouragement of the President, met on the day appointed, and proceeded to frame a Constitution for Kansas. This was another illegal act, for the proposed Constitution ought to have emanated from the Territorial Legislature, and been submitted by it to a vote of the people. The Lecompton Convention met to remove this difficulty. A large majority were in favour of establishing Slavery in Kansas; but, after an angry and excited debate, it was determined, by a majority of two only, to submit the question of Slavery or no Slavery to the people. But in this instance again, there occurred another flagrant departure from precedent. Instead of submitting the entire Constitution for consideration, an article was inserted in it, establishing Slavery in the new State, and in the schedule appended to it, the simple question put to the popular vote was, "The Constitution with or without Slavery." The Free-State party protested loudly against this proceeding, by voting the Topeka or Anti-Slavery Constitution, and resolved not to vote upon the Lecompton proposition, nor in any wise to recognise any of the acts of the Legislature, or of the Lecompton Convention. On the 2d of December, and whilst the political struggle in Kansas was in abeyance, the President delivered his Annual Message, and announced himself in favour of the pro-

Slavery party. He again declared that the Territorial law of the 19th of February was "in the main fair and just;" that the avowed object of the Free-State party—which he designated as a revolutionary organization—was, if need be, "to put down the lawful Government by force, and establish one of their own, under the so-called Topeka Constitution;" that the legality of the Lecompton Convention was not affected by the refusal of a large proportion of the citizens of Kansas, to avail themselves of their right to vote at the election of delegates to it; that the question of the Constitution for Kansas, "with or without Slavery," as submitted by the Lecompton Convention, would be referred to the popular vote, "under legitimate authority;" and if any portion of the inhabitants refused to vote, "they alone would be responsible for the consequences."

It requires no intimate acquaintance with American politics, to enable any unprejudiced person to judge of the effect, which such a declaration was likely to produce upon the people of Kansas. It gave fresh courage to the pro-Slavery party, and damped the spirits of the Free-soilers, though they were as determined as ever to oppose the surreptitious attempts of the Lecomptonites, to force a pro-Slavery Constitution upon them. Whether, being in a majority, they acted wisely in abstaining from voting, is a question on which your Committee are not required to give an opinion. That they acted consistently, cannot admit of doubt, while, had they voted against the Lecompton Constitution, it is equally clear that they would thereby have practically admitted the legality of its proceedings, of the election for delegates, of the law appointing it, of the Territorial Legislature itself, and of the acts of violence and bloodshed on which it was established, and which had converted the territory into one vast scene of civil war. The result of the vote taken on the Lecompton proposition, was affirmative, as none but pro-Slavery partisans pronounced an opinion by the ballot-box; and, in due course, the demand was made to Congress for the admission of Kansas into the Union as a Slave State.

And now commenced a new struggle, and the Kansas question entered upon another principal phase. Of course, the Non-Extensionist party, backed by the small but compact body of political Abolitionists out of doors, embracing what is now called the Republican, in opposition to the Democratic party, and sustained by the minute fraction of Abolitionists in Congress, rose against the proposition, and their ranks were unexpectedly strengthened by the defection from the Government party, of Mr. Senator Douglas and his political supporters. This large opposition took the view of the Kansas people, respecting the illegality of the constitutional

vote, though they opposed it from different motives, not difficult to comprehend. Mr. Douglas declared that he would combat the measure at every stage, and he kept his word. The excitement throughout the States was intense, for it caused the revival of discussions, involving the very existence of the institution of Slavery, the evils of which were laid bare, with unsparing hand, by the small band of Abolitionists in the North. It would extend your Committee's report to an inconvenient length, to record the details of the contention which ensued in Congress, as a consequence of the secession of Mr. Senator Douglas. Nor is it necessary for them to comment upon the motives which may have influenced him, as the author of the Nebraska-Kansas Bill, to oppose the admission of Kansas into the Union. That its pro-Slavery Constitution was of secondary importance, may be inferred from his well-known political sentiments. The plea for his opposition was quite a legitimate one, and left him free to maintain his Southern views, while it afforded him a famous opportunity of securing friends amongst the party, whose influence in the next Presidential election is likely to be greatly augmented, if, indeed, it be not preponderating. But, whatever Mr. Douglas's motives, there is no question that his abandonment of the Government, on grounds common to Non-Extensionists, Republicans, and Abolitionists, was a great blow to Southern interests, because dealt by the hand of a partisan; and was a moral gain to the cause of Abolition. The Bill for the admission of Kansas, with the Lecompton Constitution, at once gave rise to a discussion on all the points relating to the legality of the Kansas Legislature, and to all its enactments. It passed through a variety of phases, and was the subject of proposition and counter-proposition, devised with a view to avoid a decision on the real point at issue. It was bandied from the House of Representatives to the Senate, from the Senate back to the House of Representatives, to be again returned with amendments, and again thrown back with additional changes. At length a decisive vote was come to, and the House of Representatives rejected the Lecompton Constitution, on definite grounds. The Senate, compelled to pronounce an opinion, referred the question to a Committee; and now a fresh struggle commenced, which has been finally concluded—at least for the present—by a compromise, called the English Amendment, in consequence of its having been devised by Mr. English; and which momentarily solves the Kansas difficulty by a side-wind. The new device submits to the people of Kansas, the option of accepting the Lecompton Constitution, with a large grant of public land, or rejecting it; but, in the

latter case, no further action is to be taken in the territory upon its organization as a State, until it shall contain 93,000 inhabitants, when it will become entitled to demand admission, on the ground of its possessing the representative ratio of population. Thus the settlement of the question is thrown back upon the citizens of Kansas; and if the Free-State party is only true to itself, and a popular vote be not prevented by the pro-Slavery party employing violent means for that purpose, the Lecompton measure is certain to be defeated, and the chances will thereby be materially increased in favour of Kansas. Every delay is to the advantage of the anti-Slavery party, as it gives time for the occupation of the territory by free-settlers, who swarm in from the older States, and who are even now greatly in the majority.

Another remarkable instance of the progressive tendencies of the public sentiment in relation to the institution of Slavery, has been afforded by the recent removal of Judge Loring, from the office of Judge of Probate. Mr. Loring was the magistrate who some two years ago gave judgment in the case of the fugitive Burns, who had sought a refuge in Boston, and being claimed under the Fugitive Slave-Law, was surrendered by Mr. Loring, as United States' Commissioner. The *American Anti-Slavery Society* immediately petitioned for his removal; and, after two years' persevering efforts against the most powerful opposition, have just succeeded in accomplishing their object. The appointment of Mr. Banks, whose sentiments are in favour of the abolition of Slavery, as Governor of the State, had preceded this triumph of popular sentiment. Mr. Loring was removed on the specific ground of incompatibility to hold the office of United States' Commissioner and Judge of Probate; but the feeling was so strong against him, that even had this objection been over-ruled, it is doubtful if he would have continued to serve on the Bench. Every section of the anti-Slavery party has united in bearing testimony to the service the *American Anti-Slavery Society* has done to the cause, by effecting the dismissal of Judge Loring; and the moral effect of this vindication of the dignity of the one State of Massachusetts is not likely soon to pass away.

In Missouri—one of the Slave States—a very striking change in public sentiment is manifesting itself. On the 12th of February last year, a discussion was raised in the House of Representatives, on a joint resolution from the Senate, giving expression to the views of the General Assembly of Missouri on the subject of emancipation, in the following terms:—

"Whereas circumstances having rendered it necessary, and it is due to the constituent body of our fellow-citizens in the State of Missouri,

that the Legislature of the State should give an unequivocal expression, in regard to the subject of the emancipation of slaves in the State.

"Be it therefore resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Missouri," that the emancipation of the slaves held as property in this State, would be not only impracticable, but that any movement having such an object in view would be inexpedient, impolitic, unwise, and unjust; and should, in the opinion of this General Assembly, be discountenanced by the people of this State."

The circumstances referred to, were unmistakeable indications of a leaning of the people in the State to Abolition views, manifesting itself in numerous instances. Mr. Gratz Brown, a Member of the House of Representatives, rose to move the rejection of the resolution on its first reading, and delivered a speech in favour of emancipation, so powerful and convincing, that he carried the House with him. Your Committee published his remarkable oration in *extenso* in the June (1857) Number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. The speaker maintained the converse of the propositions laid down in the resolution, and demonstrated that emancipation is practically in progress in the State, by the influx of white labourers, who everywhere displace slave-labour; by the decrease in the slave population to the extent of one-fourth within the last five years, and the increase of the white population within the same period in the ratio of three to one. He also dwelt upon the immigration of large numbers of German settlers, who within the same five years, "amid all the excitement of a wild Slavery fury, which swept over the State as a tempest of desolation, and at a time when men's lives were held in imminent jeopardy, who refused to accord a divinity to the institution," had "compelled the usages and institutions of Slavery to make room for them, and go down in the conflict." The speech of Mr. Gratz Brown may be referred to as one of the most conclusive arguments against Slavery, as an economical question, that has ever been delivered, and one that not many years ago, would probably have cost the speaker his life. Since then anti-Slavery sentiment has found a legitimate mode of expressing itself, in the choice of Mr. Rollins in the State elections last August. It may indeed be regarded as one of the most important political events of the year, because the question was directly presented to the people of a Slave State, whether they would elect a man who would not resist a project for emancipation, and the election decided that they would not. This foreshadows Emancipation in Missouri, though it does not necessarily follow, that any other Slave State will do the same thing.

In addition to this, the recent municipal elections in this State, have resulted in decided and significant triumphs for the cause of

free labour. Not merely St. Louis, the commercial emporium of the whole region watered by the Missouri, and Jefferson, the political metropolis, but Kansas City, the largest border town, formerly the citadel of border ruffianism, and the scene of the most flagrant outrages on the property and persons of Free-State men migrating to Kansas, has been revolutionized. Her Mayor, elected in the early part of April last, Mr. J. Payne, is a Douglas democrat and Free-State man. In fact, as Kansas City draws her trade mainly from Kansas, the enthusiastic and devoted adherence of the latter, to the Free-State cause, naturally draws the former after it. Henceforth free-State men will no more be contraband in the Kansas City.

The triumph in Jefferson City, however, has been the most emphatic of any. Here, the question of emancipation was never mooted till now, and no candidate ever ran in it avowedly as an Emancipationist before. But Mr. James B. Gardenhire, who ran as a Bentonian candidate for Congress in 1850, and for Attorney-General, at a subsequent election, and who is now fully enlisted in the work of securing Missouri to free labour, was nominated for Mayor of Jefferson this spring, with a full free-labour ticket, and elected throughout by over seventy majority. If the newly-immigrated voters had not been rejected because they had not paid a tax, the majority would have been larger.

A writer from Jefferson City to the *St. Louis Democrat*, states some further facts of decided meaning and promise. The owners of three-fourths of the slaves in that city, voted the free-labour ticket, believing that emancipation would increase the value of their lands, more than it would diminish the mercantile value of their negroes. And, within a week after this triumph, thirteen families settled in this city of five or six hundred houses; several eastern capitalists at once made liberal investments in the city and its vicinity; several large manufacturing establishments were soon to be started; and the contracts, and other demonstrations with reference to building, were already such as to justify the expectation, that two hundred houses would be erected in Jefferson during the current year. This is but one of the many indications of the free-labour current setting in upon Missouri, and destined to sweep all before it.

A correspondent of the *Chicago Tribune*, writing on board the steamer *John Dickey*, near Kansas City, Mo., March 25, 1858, says:

"Missouri will soon be a Free State. I have heard this remark made by a score or more of her own citizens, on board the boat from Jefferson to Kansas City. It has been the staple of conversation at table, on the promenade deck, in the cabin—everywhere. Most of the passengers are na-

tives of Slave States. They talk coolly and dispassionately on the subject, and admit the pecuniary evils which servile labour has inflicted upon the prosperity of their State. There are a few whiskey-drinking, dog-leg, tobacco-chewing loafers on board, swearing at the 'Abolitionists,' and defending slave-holders, but they are 'poor white trash,' who never owned a nigger, and who never will own any thing more valuable than a jug of corn whisky."

These are the leading political events—apart from the Kansas question—which have distinguished the anti-Slavery struggle in the United States, during the past year, and which encourage your Committee to anticipate a yet more rapid development of the movement for freedom, in the border State of Missouri. Their effect has been nothing less than marvellous, in augmenting the price of land in the State, while the sales have been threefold. The tide of emigration from the Free States, has also been directed into Missouri; a result unquestionably attributable to the triumph of the movement for free-labour in St. Louis.

But public opinion has been greatly enlightened, by the publication of several works more or less able; by one especially, written by Hinton Rowan Helper, a native of North Carolina, and which contains overwhelming evidence, collected by a careful writer, who avows himself to be Southron by birth, ancestry, and sympathies, to the effect that "Slavery is doomed." His book bears the title of "*The Impending Crisis of the South—How to MEET IT,*" and nearly fourteen thousand copies were sold within a very few months: a fact that speaks volumes for the avidity with which anti-Slavery literature of this class is sought after. It abounds in statistical information of the most valuable kind, exhausting the economic phases of the entire question. It examines the institution of Slavery, chiefly as an economic system, and pronounces it a failure; and, where it treats of it on moral considerations, condemns it in language as strong as any that has ever been used by the most advanced party of Abolitionists in the North. The author not only declares that the slaveholders have no right to compensation, but advocates the imposition upon them of a tax of sixty dollars for every negro in their possession, with an additional forty dollars after the year 1863, to be augmented in an increasing ratio, in harmony with other measures, so as to prove an infallible death-blow to Slavery on or before the 4th of July, 1876. He lays down the following plan, which he urges his countrymen to act upon, for the abolition of what he designates as "the most subtle and insidious foe, that ever menaced the inalienable rights and liberties and dearest interests of America."

"1. Thorough organization and independent

political action on the part of the non-slaveholding whites of the South.

"2. Ineligibility of slaveholders—never another vote to the trafficker in human flesh.

"3. No co-operation with slaveholders in politics—no fellowship with them in religion—no affiliation with them in society.

"4. No patronage to slaveholding merchants—no guestship in slavewaiting hotels—no fees to slaveholding lawyers—no employment of slaveholding physicians—no audience to slaveholding parsons.

"5. No recognition of pro-Slavery men, except as ruffians, outlaws, and criminals.

"6. Abrupt discontinuance of subscription to pro-Slavery newspapers.

"7. The greatest possible encouragement to free white labour.

"8. No more hiring of slaves by non-slaveholders.

"9. Immediate death to Slavery, or, if not immediate, unqualified proscription of its advocates during the period of its existence.

"10. A tax of sixty dollars on every slaveholder for each and every negro in his possession at the present time, or at any intermediate time between now and the 4th of July, 1863—said money to be applied to the transportation of the blacks to Liberia, to their colonization in Central or South America, or to their comfortable settlement within the boundaries of the United States.

"11. An additional tax of forty dollars per annum, to be levied annually, on every slaveholder, for each and every negro found in his possession after the 4th of July, 1863—said money to be paid into the hands of the negroes so held in Slavery, or, in cases of death, to their next of kin, and to be used by them at their own option."

Your Committee may be permitted to quote here the concluding observations made by the editor of the *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, in his very able review of Mr. Helper's extraordinary work:

"We joyfully accept the good omen contained in Mr. Helper's name, and heartily welcome him as an ally in that conflict with Slavery, to which he seems to have devoted his life and energies.

"This book deserves a wide circulation, North and South, in every State and every Territory. But for all those Territories whose fate, in regard to the establishment of Slavery, is yet undecided, it is the most valuable anti-Slavery instrumentality existing, because it starts from the point, and reaches the conclusion, to which, we suppose, the people of those territories will be most inclined to give heed. Taking the stand-point of enlightened self-interest, looking for the prosperity of the State, through those means which shall secure the highest welfare of the people individually, Mr. Helper has proved Slavery as ruinous to the material interests of every community in which it exists, as the elder Abolitionists long since proved it to the interests of good morals and true religion. We earnestly hope that he may meet responsive voices and helping hands."

Of a similar character is another work, from the pen of Mr. F. L. Omsted, on

Texas,* the author of the *Sea-board Slave States*. It establishes the vast superiority of Iowa over Texas, as a home for the enterprising, industrious immigrant, on account of the incubus of Slavery, which crushes the latter country, and he demonstrates with much felicity, and upon unanswerable testimony, how Slavery everywhere is eating out the heart of the country of its abode, and paralyzing the energies of the people.

Your Committee have also remarked with satisfaction, that in Kentucky there are indications of the spread of anti-Slavery sentiment. In July last, C. G. H. Payne put up as Senator for Campbell and Kenton, and B. F. Sanford, of the latter place, as Member for Congress. The *Kentucky Weekly News* of the 17th of that month, published what is called the "Ticket," or profession of political principles of the candidates, in which the existence of Slavery in the State was regretted, and the doctrine proclaimed, of non-interference in regard to Slavery in the Sovereign States in which it exists, and the non-extension of Slavery over territory now free. It is true that these "principles" were not radical, considered exclusively from a point of view strictly anti-Slavery, but your Committee look at the fact of their being published in a Slave State, as a great advance on the journalism that used to be tolerated, and therefore a sign of improvement which is worthy of record.

Your Committee might quote many other facts, trivial in themselves, but not without importance in such a question, to prove that, notwithstanding some causes of discouragement, on the whole the prospects of the anti-Slavery cause, brighten from year to year. The Judges of the Supreme Court may determine—as they have done in the case of DRED SCOTT, recorded in the ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER—that a free negro has no right as an American citizen, and may refuse him a passport to travel, or the privilege of commanding a vessel sailing under American colours, or even of owning one; Mississippi and Carolina may agitate for a revival of the slave-trade, and make laws to oppress the free people of colour who are in those States, or to kidnap those that come into them, as Mississippi has done; even free Ohio may repeal the statutes under which, heretofore, a fugitive slave, hunted down by his savage owners, might claim a man's privilege of establishing a right to himself, under the *Habeas Corpus Act*; and the slave-power may for a time, baffle with its wicked machinations, the efforts of the friends of freedom, and exult over its triumphs in

the Legislature, and in its strength abroad; but the principles of Truth and Justice are eternal, and must in the end prevail. There remains an honest band of sturdy Abolitionists in the North, who hold no compromise with the deadly sin, or fellowship with its advocates and abettors; there are Societies which issue works in which religion is permitted to condemn, in the middle of the nineteenth century, what it condemned in the first, by the mouth of Him who spake the Law and the Prophets; which send out Missionaries pledged to preach against Slavery and Slaveholders, who are prohibited to receive one of the latter into the bosom of the Church; there are still bold advocates of freedom in Congress, who, when the time comes, will be found in their place, denouncing in words of fiery eloquence, the aggressions of the dark power, even though it entail the penalty of a brutal assault: and, above all, there is a God to whom the prayer of the oppressed ascendeth never in vain; and who will in His own good time, and in His own mysterious way, vindicate those great principles, which He has laid down to govern the world, and release those who are in bonds. In Him and in His power your Committee have faith; and already, in passing events, the nations may perceive the beginning of the great consummation, as the little cloud arising out of the sea, was discerned by the Prophet of old.

BRAZIL.

In the first section of their Report, your Committee stated, that only two cases of foreign slave-trading had occurred in Brazil for five years, and in those instances the authorities had promptly prosecuted and punished the guilty parties. Your Committee retain the opinion they have already more than once expressed, respecting the sincerity of the Brazilian Government in putting down the traffic; but they are still watchful and uneasy, lest the high price of slaves should induce the slave-dealers to renew their wicked enterprises. In his speech on opening the Session of the General Legislative Assembly, on the 3rd of May, 1856, the Emperor adverts to the attempts of the slave-traders in these terms:

"Notwithstanding all the measures taken for the repression of the abominable slave-trade, some adventurers have dared to attempt new speculations; but the vigilance of my Government, aided by public opinion, succeeded in frustrating their designs, as I trust will ever be the case."

In confirmation of the views your Committee take, they would adduce the fact of the expulsion from Rio de Janeiro, of a slave-dealer named Avellar, who had fitted out two pilot-boats for slave-trading, one of

* *A Journey through Texas: A winter of Sadle and Camp Life on the Border Country of the United States.*—Ed.

which was supposed to be that subsequently captured at Serinhaem; details of which transaction your Committee gave in their last Report. His expulsion was the spontaneous act of the Brazilian Government.

If, however, the foreign slave-trade may be regarded as extinct, the coast-wise traffic between the Brazilian provinces is more active than ever. On this subject, Senator Francisco de Paula Hollanda Cavalcanti, now Visconde Albuquerque, who, in the worst of times, when the slave-trade was at its height, distinguished himself by inveighing against its abominations, has pronounced a strong opinion; and on the 1st of July, 1856, in a speech he made to the Brazilian Senate, suggested the establishment of a coast-guard to prevent the inter-provincial traffic in slaves, in conjunction with other measures in harmony with it. The idea was favourably regarded by the British Consul, though up to the latest published official accounts, it had not been acted upon; but there was every reason to hope that if the Brazilian Government could not be induced to prohibit it, an attempt would be made to mitigate its horrors by some legislative enactment. What has been doing in the several provinces, may be judged of from the following summary:

BAHIA.—The British Consul reports the sentence pronounced by the authorities, on the parties implicated in the slave-trading transaction of the Boston slaver, the *Mary E. Smith*, which was captured off the Brazilian coast in 1855, by a Brazilian cruiser. The principals were committed to prison for four years and fined 8920*l.* sterling, being at the rate of so much per head for each African that was on board; and a further fine corresponding to the third part of the period of their imprisonment; which virtually amounts in all, to a penalty of incarceration for the term of their natural lives. No new case of attempts to land slaves had occurred.

PARA.—Mr. Consul Vines reports no case of slave-trading from Africa, but states that there were 212 slaves imported into the province from other parts of the empire, and 167 exported to them from it. The Government had been unable to dislodge the fugitives settled in the outlying districts of PARA, and had determined not to molest them. The health of the slave population was satisfactory, but it was very much diminished, the cholera having carried off large numbers in 1855.

PERNAMBUCO.—Mr. Consul Cowper states that in a general point of view, the African slave-trade may be said to have ceased to exist in Brazil; and he attests to the honest desire of the Government to suppress it, and to supply the wants of labour by other means and from other sources. He speaks, however, in the strongest terms of the inter-pro-

vincial trade carried on coast-wise, and which he says is not less cruel than the foreign traffic. He considers that as many as 1500 slaves are annually exported from Pernambuco, and perhaps as many from other ports of the province. The Government had raised the export duty to 22*l.* per slave, and the number allowed to accompany their masters, as domestic servants, was strictly limited. Nevertheless, the law was being evaded to a very great extent, for though it was notorious that as many as 70 had left in one vessel, and that more than 600 had actually been removed, duty was paid upon only 37. He concludes his report by stating, that "no laws have been enacted during the past year relating to Slavery; and the state of the slave in Brazil, excepting those ills which the increase of the coasting trade has brought upon him, has neither ameliorated nor deteriorated. Acts of gross barbarity are rarely practised, but that disregard of his humanity, the inevitable consequence of Slavery, still exists, and will exist until the hydra itself be finally destroyed."

The Consuls for RIO DE JANEIRO, RIO GRANDE DO SUL, and ST. CATHERINE's, report that no slaves were landed from Africa during 1856.

HOLLAND.

It does not appear that the Dutch Government has yet decided upon the manner in which the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies of Holland shall be carried out; although its determination to liberate them is unshaken. Last session the Second Chamber of the States-General considered the Bill which had been prepared, and to which your Committee adverted in their last Annual Report.

The debates were long and animated. There seemed to be but one opinion as to emancipation itself, which was stated to have become one of the necessities of the day. The difficulty was in determining in what manner it should be accomplished. The Government Bill was not regarded with favour, and discussions ensued on the following principles of the measure:

- 1st. Is the State bound to indemnify the slaveholders for any loss they may sustain in consequence of the abolition of Slavery? A majority responded to this question negatively.
- 2nd. Ought the emancipated slaves to repay to the State, either in part or wholly, the cost of their emancipation? This question was also negatived by a majority.
- 3rd. Ought emancipation to take place immediately or gradually, in order to prepare the slaves for enjoying their liberty? On this point opinions were divided. One party declared itself for

immediate and unconditional emancipation. A second was in favour of fixing a definite period for the liberation of the slaves; and a third supported the view that emancipation should be gradual, and measures introduced to prepare the slaves for freedom.

4th. Is the system of surveillance which the Government proposes to establish over the emancipated classes, desirable? The opinion was nearly unanimous that such a system was antagonistic to freedom.

5th. Ought the emancipated classes to be constituted a distinct class, having a separate civil existence, with laws especially framed for them in this condition, as proposed by the Government? On this point also the opinions of the majority were adverse.

6th. Ought the various important details of the measure, generally, to be left to the ultimate discretion of the Local Government? This question was unanimously negatived; it being considered that this part of the Government measure was incomplete.

In consequence of the divisions that ensued on all these points, the Ministry resigned. The Colonial Minister was succeeded by M. Rochussen, who revoked the measure of his predecessor. Thus the Abolitionists of Holland gained a great victory.

Immediately after Easter, and as soon as the Second Chamber had resumed its sittings, M. Van Lynden interrogated the new Minister on the subject of his intentions with regard to emancipation. M. Rochussen replied that he was considering the question seriously, and should not relax his efforts till Slavery was abolished. He intended, during the autumn session, to prepare and present a new law, and he had already taken the first measures preparatory to emancipation. He had sent instructions to the Governor of the Island of Curaçoa, to give to each slave belonging to the State, who was married and had a family, a cabin to live in, with a patch of land to cultivate for his own use, and to allow him one holiday a week, besides Sunday.

Your Committee would observe, however, that this measure applies only to Curaçoa, which contains few slaves.

Another interesting movement has taken place. The Consistory of the Dutch Reformed Church, in Amsterdam, addressed a Memorial to the General Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church, praying that it would memorialise the King on the subject of the abolition of Slavery. The Synod assented to this request, and drew up an admirable Address, at the suggestion of the Rev. C. S. Adama Von Scheltema, a member of the Committee of Surveillance of the *Amsterdam*

Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society, and a corresponding member of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*. Several religious papers in Holland have, under the same influence, been induced to take up the subject of the abolition of Slavery, and strenuously opposed the project of the late Colonial Minister.

The *Amsterdam Young Men's Anti-Slavery Society* has been especially active, and distributed 10,000 pamphlets and tracts throughout the country. Its radical principles, however, cause it to be regarded with some coldness by the elder and more political Abolitionists. The *Utrecht Auxiliary*, founded in consequence of the visit of your Secretary, in 1856, is daily gaining strength. M. J. H. Wolbers, one of its earliest members, is writing a history of Surinam. The *Amsterdam Society* had held its Annual Meeting under circumstances of peculiar interest. It was addressed by Mr. F. A. Eckhart de Mesquita, a "son of Surinam;" and as it was the first time a coloured man had ever addressed a public meeting on this subject in Holland, the effect produced was extremely great. He subsequently also addressed a similar meeting at Utrecht, at which a M. Van Lummel spoke at length on the life of Wilberforce.

On the whole, your Committee think the cause is progressing in Holland.

PORTUGAL.

In your Committee's Report for the year 1856, they announced that a Bill had been then recently presented to the Portuguese Cortes, providing for the eventual abolition of Slavery in the transmarine possessions of Portugal, and for the immediate emancipation of all children of female slaves born in them, subsequently to the publication of the law. It was not at that time certain whether the Bill would pass; but the Parliamentary Papers for 1857 announce that it became law in the month of June, 1856. The law provided, that within six months after its publication in the official bulletin of Angola, it should take effect; and in the territory of Ambriz—a new district of that province—and the adjoining territories of Cabenda and Malembo, within six months after their organization under a regular government. By another law, introduced by Viscount de Sá da Bandeira, and passed on the 17th of July, 1856, all slaves embarked on board of Portuguese vessels, or belonging to foreigners, are to become free on entering any port or anchorage of the Kingdom of Portugal, or on crossing the Portuguese frontier. The law is to apply equally to the territories forming the States of India, and in the city of Macao, where also, and in its dependencies, Slavery is abolished, by a Royal Decree bearing date December 23,

1856. On the 10th of March, 1857, another Decree abolished Slavery in the Island of St. Vincent, Cape de Verde. *De facto* it had been already virtually extinguished by the decease of the bulk of the slaves, from cholera, and the remainder were liberated by their masters. But the Decree will prevent the introduction of fresh slaves from the African coast. It is also due to the Portuguese authorities at Lisbon, and on the coast, to add, that they appear to be quite earnest in their desire to put an end to slave-trading, and have vigorously pursued, and rigorously punished, several parties who were detected in the act, or who were convicted of being concerned in slave-trading transactions. To prove that the Portuguese Government is sincere in its determination, a Decree was issued from Lisbon on the 27th of September, 1856, prohibiting the establishment of factories on any part of the coast of the Province of Angola, where no administrative authority resides, without the previous sanction of the Governor of the Province; and ordering that the proprietors of those already in existence shall, within sixty days after the publication of the Decree, petition the Governor-General for his authorization to allow such factories to continue, in which, however, no slaves, even liberated, will be permitted unless duly registered: in default, all such slaves to be liberated, and placed at the disposal of the respective Protective Board. All factories established without permission, to be destroyed. It also renews the ancient fine of 4*l.* 10*s.* (20 milreis), or thirty days' imprisonment for each slave found chained, manacled, handcuffed, &c.; and enacts, that if they are found in a factory on the sea-coast, where no public authority exists, they shall be deemed as intended for exportation, and immediately set at liberty, the owners incurring the loss of them, and other penalties.

The Committee believe the friends of the negro will rejoice to learn, that the reign of the youthful King of Portugal has been inaugurated by measures of such signal humanity; and they only trust that the restrictions under which the emancipated population is placed, may not be converted into an instrument of oppression. They would also express a hope that similar measures may be extended to the Crown colonies on the Guinea Coast, for though the abolition of Slavery, where it is a domestic institution of the African people, may offer difficulties, these would not be found insurmountable, and the example would exercise the most beneficial influence over the neighbouring countries.

RUSSIA.

Your Committee have great satisfaction in recording that the Emperor of Russia has

instituted measures for the emancipation of the serfs throughout his dominions. The details of this important change in the domestic policy of the empire, are not yet fully known, but there appears to be little doubt of their being on a most comprehensive scale. Your Committee believe that no more important movement in favour of freedom, has been set on foot since the Act of Emancipation, and that it is calculated to produce the best results, by way of example, in promoting the abolition of Slavery in other countries.

SPAIN.

While Russia has been adopting progressive measures for the extinction of Serfdom, and the Brazilian and Portuguese Governments have been promoting the abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade, in accordance with the enlightened spirit of the age, that of Spain appears to be callous to every good influence. The correspondence between Her Majesty's Consul at Havana and the local authorities, and between the Spanish Colonial Minister and Lord Howden, exhibits a lamentable category of crimination and recrimination. The Consul, on the one hand, accuses the authorities of direct connivance at the traffic, and furnishes proof thereof; while, on the other, the authorities stoutly deny their complicity, and impeach the evidence. These denials are shamefully barefaced. To wit, General Zavala writes to Lord Howden, and on the authority of the Cuban officials, declares that "the slave-trade is extinguished," at the very time that Lord Howden is receiving information from "various respectable persons, having ample opportunities of knowing what is doing in Cuba, that it is going on there with renewed and even with unwonted activity." This allegation is confirmed by the despatches of Mr. Consul Crawford, which give intimation of no fewer than sixteen landings effected in the last six months of 1856, furnishing an aggregate number—as collated from the despatches themselves—of 6302 slaves. Now, assuming that for the first half of the year as many more were disembarked, we obtain a total of 12,604, to which must be added the usual average of one-third, always assumed to have been landed without the knowledge of the authorities; and the number for the year 1856, according to official returns, would be 16,804.

Your Committee believe they are only expressing the views entertained by all classes of the community, in offering the opinion that the time has arrived to submit to Her Majesty's Government, the propriety of taking some decisive step to compel Spain to act honestly in this matter. Were the slave-trade to Cuba stopped, it would be a death-blow to Slavery in America, and not only

would the large annual expenditure be economized, which the maintenance of the cruiser-squadron necessitates, and the extensive, complicated, and costly machinery the system entails, become unnecessary, but our colonies would be relieved from the pressure of an unfair competition; and one great object of the national policy for the last half century would be achieved. It is not, however, by a continued prosecution of the slave-trade only, that Spain is a delinquent towards Great Britain. By those same treaties which she so shamefully violates, she is bound to set at liberty all the negroes who have been introduced into Cuba since they were concluded, which would embrace very nearly the entire slave population. The British Government has therefore a right to demand the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba; in doing which she would be only requiring Spain to fulfil the treaties of 1817 and 1835.

TURKEY.

Your Committee desire to believe that the Sultan is anxious to suppress slave-trading, but the facts detailed in the early part of this Report, go to shew that the subordinate officials defeat his excellent intentions. Lord Stratford, the late Ambassador at Constantinople, deserves great praise for his efforts to induce the Porte to take decisive measures, and it must be conceded that whatever good has been accomplished in this direction, has been mainly due to him. Various steps have been adopted by the Governor-General of the Regency of Tripoli to stop the slave-trade from that part of the Ottoman Empire, and one amongst others is worthy of record, as likely to check the practice. The Governor-General has determined that no negroes—not even household servants—shall be permitted to embark until they have been manumitted in the presence of the Cadi, and two members of his court, the manumission papers to be delivered to the master of the ship, so that on arriving at their destination, the liberated slaves may present themselves to the authorities and claim their freedom. He has also severely punished several individuals who were convicted of slave-trading, and, in every instance where complaint has been made, his interference has been most prompt and effectual. With regard to the Sultan himself, your Committee are gratified to announce that, simultaneously with these acts of one of his chief Pashas, he was contemplating a measure which he carried into effect by an Imperial decree, notice of which was communicated to Lord Stratford on the 29th of January, 1857, by Ethem Pasha, abolishing the trade in negroes to all parts of the Turkish Empire, as a preliminary step to the total abolition of Slavery throughout it. Your Committee feel assured that the friends

of emancipation will hail this step in advance, with satisfaction, and respond to the following sentiments, expressed by Lord Stratford to the Turkish Government, on receiving the intelligence.

"The Porte, in thus announcing its deliberate resolution to abolish completely the negro slave-trade, with the view of putting an end even to Slavery itself, at an early period, throughout the Sultan's dominions, has acquired an additional title to the cordial notice of the governments and nations of civilized Europe, and to none more than to those whom I have the honour to represent."

In connexion with this subject, but without presuming to claim any credit for having been instrumental in bringing about this great change in the domestic policy of Turkey, your Committee would remind you, that in March 1856, they presented a Memorial to Lord Palmerston on Turkish Slavery, a copy of which they also addressed to the Ministers Plenipotentiary then assembled in Paris, and to the Turkish Ambassador in London. One paragraph in it dwelt forcibly on negro Slavery, and the trade in negroes, and pointed out the victims of them as special objects of commiseration. In their last Report, your Committee informed you, that the Earl of Clarendon had sent the Address to Lord Stratford at Constantinople, direct from Paris, accompanying it with a request that he would lay it before the Turkish Government, stating that at that moment, when peace was about to be concluded, the Porte could do nothing more acceptable to Her Majesty's Government and to the British nation, than to adopt measures which should be really effectual for putting an end to the slave-trade. The Parliamentary Papers for 1856 and 1857 prove that Lord Stratford took immediate steps in this matter; and on the 29th of January, in the latter year, the measure was announced, which practically grants the prayer of your Committee's Memorial.

HOME PROCEEDINGS.

There remains to your Committee to submit a brief record of their home proceedings during the past year.

In the month of June, their attention was directed to certain statements respecting a scheme set on foot by the French, to obtain so-called immigrants from Africa. They took an early opportunity of bringing the subject under the notice of Lord Brougham, who, having been already made acquainted with the circumstance, put a question to the Government on the subject, towards the close of the month, which he renewed on the 6th of July. On the 17th of the same month, His Lordship moved that an Address from the House of Lords should be presented to Her

Majesty, praying her to withhold her sanction from such a scheme amongst her own subjects, and to use her best endeavours amongst her allies, to discountenance similar projects. His Lordship's motion was carried. It may be stated here, that in the meanwhile a large deputation from the West-India Body had gone up to Lord Palmerston, with a Memorial soliciting his sanction to a scheme of the same nature, to supply the West Indies with labourers, by concluding what were styled "immigration treaties" with the native chiefs, and throwing open the coast to all nations. Your Committee, justly alarmed, and regarding such a scheme, only as a new mode of re-opening the slave-trade, forthwith addressed Lord Palmerston against it, and obtained from him the assurance that Her Majesty's Government would not countenance any plan of obtaining "immigrants," likely to lead to a renewal of the slave-trade. Towards the close of the year, your Committee having obtained additional information of the proceedings of the French on the coast, memorialized the Earl of Clarendon, and on the 24th of November, a deputation of forty-one gentlemen from various parts of the country, presented the Address to him at the Foreign Office in Downing Street. The deputation was received most courteously, and an assurance given of the determination of Her Majesty's Government, to employ its best endeavours to dissuade the Government of France, from prosecuting an enterprise in no respect differing from the slave-trade. A large number of copies of the Memorial, and an account of the interesting interview, were printed and circulated throughout the country, as well as abroad, with good results.

On the 11th of December, Lord Brougham being on the Continent, the Earl of Shaftesbury—at his solicitation—again, at the instigation of your Committee, interrogated Government on the subject of the Decree, in virtue of which the French were understood to be still prosecuting their nefarious enterprise. The question elicited a remarkable testimony against the scheme from the Earl of Derby and Earl Grey, while the Earl of Clarendon also spoke against it in the strongest terms, but held out hopes that it would be abandoned. In the month of March of the present year, your Committee received precise information of the proceedings of the French vessel *Stella*, on the coast of Africa, where she shipped 950 Africans, male and female, to convey them to Guadeloupe. Of these, one-third (317) died on the passage, which lasted thirty days, and 85 more were drowned after their arrival, in consequence of the foundering of the small conister on board of which they had been transhipped. Your Committee immediately addressed a petition to the House of Lords,

which Lord Brougham—ever at his post—kindly presented. An account of this melancholy incident having appeared in the *Morning Star* newspaper, your Committee circulated a large number of copies of that journal, and were gratified to find that they produced excellent results, in calling attention to the real nature of this so-styled immigration scheme. They also prepared a petition on the same matter, which Sir E. N. Buxton undertook to present to the House of Commons.* They are still watching the subject with much anxiety, for they possess evidence, shewing, beyond the shadow of a doubt, that no terms are too strong to employ in condemnation of the scheme.

Your Committee's attention being also directed to the continued prosecution of the slave-trade to Cuba, they induced Mr. Charles Buxton—whose name gave him almost an hereditary right to undertake the office—to bring the subject before the House of Commons. This he accordingly did, on the 16th of July, in an eloquent speech—his maiden effort—which elicited loud cheers, and a declaration from Lord Palmerston, to the effect that no effort should be spared by her Majesty's Government, to give full effect to the wishes and feelings he had expressed. The Address to Her Majesty which the honourable member moved should be presented, was agreed to unanimously. The immigration slave-trade question will shortly again come before the House, when your Committee have no doubt the younger son of Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton will prove himself worthy of the name he bears, in protesting against so monstrous a proceeding, on the part of England's Imperial ally.

On the 26th of November last, a Bill was passed by the Legislative Assembly of the island of Jamaica, entitled, "An Act to amend the laws relating to agricultural immigrants, and for raising funds to defray the expenses attendant upon their introduction, and subsequent colonization in the island." A copy of this "Act" reached your Committee some days after the delivery of the West-India Mail of the 17th of March, with letters directing their attention to the nature of the clauses in this new measure, as calculated, if it became law, to introduce a system of labour in Jamaica, worse than existed under the apprenticeship. They at once brought the subject under the notice of the Colonial Secretary, and again enlisted the valuable co-operation of the veteran abolitionist, Lord Brougham, who mooted the question in the House of Lords on the 21st, and obtained the satisfactory assurance from the Under Secretary for the Colonies, that the Bill had

* Since this paragraph was set up, intelligence has been received of the decease of Sir E. N. Buxton. (Ed. A. S. R.)

not received the royal assent, and that a copy of it should be laid upon the table of their Lordships' House.

Your Committee caused to be drafted an elaborate analysis of this objectionable measure, which they intended to circulate among the members of both Houses, when they were gratified by an announcement from Lord Carnarvon, made immediately after the resumption of the business of the Session, to the effect that Her Majesty's Government had disallowed the Bill, on the specific ground of its containing clauses which tended to abridge the free action of the immigrants who might be imported into Jamaica. Your Committee have reason to rejoice in the success that attended this effort, and that they were enabled promptly to bring the subject under the notice of the Government, through Lord Brougham, the uncompromising friend of the negro and his descendants.

In immediate connection with this question of immigration, your Committee had occasion to act in another direction. The projected scheme of the West-India Body, and the efforts of the French on the coast, elicited many opinions on the necessity of providing labour for our West-India Colonies, and the *Times* newspaper took the lead in a series of attacks on the emancipated population, which your Committee had evidence to prove were unjustifiable, and the statements on which they were founded, altogether incorrect. They believed, on unimpeachable testimony, that there was no real want of labour in the West Indies, or if a difficulty in obtaining it was sometimes experienced, that it could be traced to causes within the control of those who complained. They also believed that the Act of Emancipation was not to be held responsible for the depreciation in West-India properties, and that the population of the West Indies did not deserve the opprobrious epithets heaped upon them, nor merit the stigma of being idle and immoral. To vindicate them, therefore, your Committee addressed to their correspondents in the West Indies a series of questions, which, with the replies to them, they have published in the form of a pamphlet, of which a large number of copies has been already distributed. They believe that no more important evidence on the West India Labour Question, has been obtained for many years, and they submit it as a triumphant reply to the calumnies that have been circulated against a class of Her Majesty's subjects, than whom, in the mass, none more loyal, industrious, moral, and peace-loving, exists.

Your Committee also considered it desirable to take another step, with a view to concerted action with the various Missionary Societies, against the determined effort then being made to vilify the emancipated po-

pulation of the West Indies, and to defeat any attempt to obtain immigrants from Africa by the West-India Body. A conference was therefore convened, to which deputations from the Missionary Societies were invited, and on the 15th February last the Question was thoroughly discussed. Your Committee were gratified by a numerous attendance, by the general expression of sympathy with their views, and by the readiness manifested to co-operate with them, in any plan of action they might think it desirable to adopt against the promoters of the new slave-trade scheme.

In their last Report your Committee referred to the steps they had taken, to bring before the then Colonial Secretary the question of the Registration of the Ordinance of British Guiana, which was found to be an extremely oppressive enactment. Shortly after the presentation of their Memorial, they received further information confirmatory of their allegations against it. These they submitted to Mr. Labouchere, with petitions from the inhabitants of George Town, praying for the repeal of the Ordinance. Your Committee regret to record, that Her Majesty's Government, having already allowed the measure, did not consider they could revoke their decision. It remains to be seen what steps the labouring population of British Guiana, on whom the enactment chiefly presses with extreme severity, will adopt to obtain its revocation.*

In October last, your Committee received from the *Hague Anti-Slavery Society*, a copy of the proposed Bill—referred to in a previous section of this Report—for the Emancipation of the slaves in the Dutch West-India colonies, with a request that your Committee would examine it, and give the applicants an opinion upon it, preparatory to its being discussed in the Second Chamber of the States-General. Your Committee immediately prepared an analysis of the measure, and transmitted it to their friends in Holland, who considered it so important, that they published it at length, and it was extensively circulated throughout the country. They believe that the views therein expressed found favour with the leading Abolitionists of Holland, for the divisions which took place in the Second Chamber of the States-General, when the Bill was presented, were all upon clauses and provisions your Committee had recommended to the consideration of their Dutch friends, as highly objectionable, and antagonistic to the principles on which the new measure professed to be founded. It was in consequence of the defeat of this measure, that the Dutch ministry resigned; and your Committee have the assurance that the

* We are glad to announce that this Ordinance has been repealed. (Ed. A. S. R.)

Bill to be proposed in the course of the coming autumn Session, will be far in advance of its predecessor.

From what your Committee have already stated on the subject of immigration, it will be correctly inferred, that much of their attention has been directed thereto. This is not the place to enter upon a discussion of their views, as they have been published in the Society's periodical, the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. But it may be well to state, that to a perfectly free immigration your Committee have never been opposed; and if, induced by the natural love of gain, Indians, Chinese, or Africans were, of their own free will, at their own expense, and under their own leaders, to seek employment in our colonies—as the Chinese have done in California and Australia—bringing their labour to an open market, being free to select their own employers, and the class of work suited to them, and to contract for such a term of service as their own inclinations or convenience prompted, no objection could possibly be raised to its development to any extent. But immigration, as it is at this time conducted, is an organized system of obtaining labour upon arbitrary terms, at the expense of our own Creole population, and to the detriment of the colonies into which the immigrants are introduced; and your Committee regard the employment of British vessels and British capital in this trade, as a practice greatly to be reprehended. Your Committee would impress upon their friends, the fact, that the remonstrances of the British Government with that of other countries on all points relating to the suppression of slave-trading, under whatever name disguised, are considerably weakened, in consequence of the sanction it has extended to the system of importing Coolies from India and China into our West-India colonies. So long as this is permitted, foreign Governments have a colourable pretext for declining to take any steps to check similar enterprises prosecuted by their own subjects. It is now no longer a secret, shut up in the despatch-boxes of the Foreign office, that a lengthened correspondence upon the Coolie-trade, and the laws relating thereto, has taken place between the British and the French and American Governments, couched, on the part of the two latter, in the strongest possible language, and even going to the extent of demanding the suppression of a trade, characterized by all the horrors and incidents of a regular slave-traffic. From the facts which the Committee have been enabled to collect, bearing upon the manner in which these two classes of Coolies—but especially those from China—are obtained; upon the systematic deceptions practised upon them with respect to their destination and terms of service; upon the fearful mortality which occurs during the sea-passage, either from

the prevalence of fevers and other maladies, or from suicides committed under a feeling of despair; upon the treatment that awaits them in Cuba and the Chincha Islands; and upon the mortality that decimates their numbers in our own colonies; they are satisfied that no language can be too strong, in which to speak of a system, which is the cause of so large an amount of human misery and suffering; and it is the intention of your Committee to spare no effort to bring the whole subject under the notice of the Government, and of the community at large.

The question of Slavery amongst the Boers of the Trans-Vaal Republic, has also continued to engage your Committee's attention. In 1856, they addressed a Memorial on the subject, to the Commandant of that newly-settled State, which they forwarded to him through Mr. Lauts, their Consul at Utrecht. In July last year, they received a reply, denying the allegations set forth. Your Committee, however, have not only the credible assurance of Dr. Livingstone, but the evidence of Her Majesty's Commissioners at the Cape of Good Hope, as well as that of the agents of the *London Missionary Society*, to prove that Slavery is practised by the Trans-Vaal Boers, in contravention of their engagements not to allow it, as stipulated in the treaty concluded with them by the late Sir George Cathcart; and it is also established on equally good testimony, that they are in the habit of attacking the tribes in their vicinity, for the purpose of converting the women and children into slaves. Your Committee consulted Dr. Livingstone on this subject, and learning that he had addressed Government upon it, and that a considerable time must elapse before the result of the Government measures can be known, they have deemed it most prudent to abstain at present from further action.

The proposed modification in the Government of India, appeared to your Committee to offer a favourable opportunity for directing the attention of Her Majesty's Ministers to the resources of that vast Peninsula, and for soliciting that in any changes which might be introduced, steps should be taken to promote, in every possible way, the cultivation of cotton and other staples, which are now so largely supplied by slave-labour. Your Committee believe, that were this done, India, under an improved system of government, and, by means of the extension of works of irrigation, and the establishment of roads and water-ways, might produce sufficient cotton to render us independent of America, and thus enable Great Britain to remove the reproach of being herself the largest consumer of the products of slave-labour, whilst professing to be the greatest enemy to Slavery. Political circumstances to which a more particular reference need

not be made, have prevented your Committee from presenting their Memorial, but they hope now shortly to do so.

The periodical assembling of the various Religious and Benevolent Associations of the metropolis, in the months of May and June, furnished your Committee with a favourable opportunity for issuing, as they have done in former years, a circular address, calling attention to the position of the American Churches in relation to Slavery; and pointing out the injury that is done to the anti-slavery cause, and to the interests of true religion, by countenancing, at their anniversary gatherings, the presence and participation in the proceedings, of delegates from Societies and religious denominations in the United States, known to be inimical to Abolition. A considerable number of copies of this address has been circulated, and your Committee have reason to know that the re-active effect of such a protest is all-powerful on public opinion in America, which, in this country, we can only influence in this and similar ways.

Your Committee might extend this branch of their Report, by dwelling upon the efforts that have been made in other directions, to carry out the objects of your Society. Their operations embrace a large field, and it may suffice for them simply to say, that they have striven, under the Divine blessing, to discharge their duty to the best of their ability, and to promote everywhere, the acceptance of the great principle of the common brotherhood of man. They think, however,

seeing how greatly they have been aided in one particular direction, by the venerable Lord Brougham, that they cannot more appropriately conclude this Report, than by re-producing the text of one of their most recent official acts, in which his name figures. On the 19th of April last, your Committee unanimously passed the following Resolution, which was in due course transmitted to his Lordship, and gracefully acknowledged:

"The Committee of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* think it right to record their deep and grateful sense of the energetic exertions of Lord Brougham, in the great cause of negro freedom, consistently pursued through a long and an active life; and especially of the valuable services he has rendered thereto, by his recent efforts to counteract schemes tending to revive the slave-trade, and measures calculated to infringe the rights and privileges of the emancipated classes, and otherwise to impair the great principle involved in the Act of Emancipation, that man can hold no property in his fellow-man."

Your Committee have but one word more to add to this Resolution: that by departing from the rule Lord Brougham has found it necessary to lay down, not to attend public meetings, and making an exception in favour of your Society, on the present occasion, his Lordship has added another to the long list of services he has rendered to the anti-Slavery cause.

RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE, 1857.

Dr.		Cr.	
To Balance in hand, 1st January	£ 97 19 1	By Salaries	£ 293 7 0
Subscriptions	213 19 8	Rent, * Taxes, * Gas, * Insurance, Repairs, and Agent's Commission,	231 17 11
Donations	307 10 6	Letting Offices	218 3 0
Anti-Slavery Reporter	71 8 2	Printing †	56 6 0
Rent, and Income-tax allowed	157 5 4	Paper †	25 15 3
Treasurer	145 1 9	Reporter Stamps	58 13 4
		Postages	22 12 7
		Housekeeper, Coals, &c.	35 0 2
		Newspapers, Stationery, Books, Parliamentary Papers, Binding	51 3 1
		Reporter, Translations, Copying, &c.	£ 993 4 6
		Miscellaneous Office Expenses, Annual Meeting, Portrages, American and other Parcels, Interest, Collector's Commission, London Institution, &c.	
			£ 993 4 6

* This item includes the Christmas, 1856, Quarter.

† This includes the 1856 Account.

‡ Ditto ditto

CONSTITUTION
OF THE
BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

I. That the name of this Society be, "THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY."

II. That the objects of this Society be, THE UNIVERSAL EXTINCTION OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE, AND THE PROTECTION OF THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF THE ENFRANCHISED POPULATION IN THE BRITISH POSSESSIONS, AND OF ALL PERSONS CAPTURED AS SLAVES.

III. That the following shall be the fundamental principles of the Society :

That so long as Slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the Slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings ; that the extinction of Slavery and the Slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a *moral, religious, and pacific character* ; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society, in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

IV. That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society :—

1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the Slave-trade and Slavery ; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of slaveholding countries, not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour ; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British colonies, and elsewhere ; to open a correspondence with Abolitionists in America, France, and other countries ; and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

2. To recommend the use of free-grown produce (as far as practicable) in preference to slave-grown ; and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that the slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British dominions, shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom ; and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

4. To recommend that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing, in our intercourse with slaveholders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.

LIST OF OFFICERS AND CORRESPONDING MEMBERS, For 1858.

Treasurer.

GEORGE WILLIAM ALEXANDER, Lombard Street.

Committee.

ROBERT ALSOP
THOMAS BINNS
REV. JAMES CARLILE
JOSEPH COOPER
SAMUEL HORMAN-FISHER
JOSIAH FORSTER
ROBERT FORSTER

R. N. FOWLER
S. FOX
CHARLES GILPIN, M.P.
F. W. HARRIS
HENRY STERRY
SAMUEL STURGE.

Secretary.

L. A. CHAMEROZVOW.

Corresponding Members.

PROFESSOR ACKERSDYKE, Utrecht
G. W. ANSTIE, Devizes
JOHN BEAUMONT, Ufford, near Woodbridge
REV. WILLIAM BEVAN, Wolverhampton
HON. J. G. BIRNEY, Michigan, U.S.
SAMUEL BOWLY, Gloucester
JOHN CANDLER, Chelmsford
FRANCIS R. COCKING, Venezuela
L. F. & A. COURTOIS, Toulouse
JOHN CROPPER, Liverpool
PROFESSOR DAVID, Copenhagen
JOSEPH EATON, Bristol
PROFESSOR G. DE FELICE, Montauban
G. W. GEFFKEN, Surinam
THOMAS HARVEY, Leeds
F. H. HEYDER, Frankfort-on-the-Maine
HON. WILLIAM JAY, Chester, U.S.
REV. JOSHUA LEAVITT, Boston, U.S.
R. R. MADDEN, M.D., Dublin

F. M. MOQUETTE, Amsterdam
WILLIAM MORGAN, Birmingham
THOMAS PEASE, Bristol
RICHARD PEEK, Hazlewood, near Kingsbridge
HON. S. J. PRESCOD, Barbados
M. GROEN VAN PRINSTERER, the Hague
SAMUEL RHODES, Philadelphia, U.S.
HYP. DE ST. ANTHOINE, Paris
H. R. ROMMEL, Frankfort
REV. THOMAS SCALES, Gomersal
REV. A. V. SCHELTEMA, Amsterdam
PROFESSOR STOWE, Andover, U.S.
JOSEPH STURGE, Birmingham
LEWIS TAPPAN, New York, U.S.
J. G. WHITTIER, Amesbury, Massachusetts, U.S.
WILLIAM WOOD, York
PROFESSOR WORMS, Hamburg.
H. J. WOLBERS, Utrecht

CONTRIBUTIONS, 1857.

Should any omissions occur in this List, Subscribers and Donors are requested to notify the same to the Secretary. It embraces Subscriptions and Donations from the 1st Jan. to 31st Dec. 1857.

Donations. Ann.Sub.				Donations. Ann.Sub.			
£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£	s.
Aked, Thomas, <i>Bradford</i>		1 0 0				Brought forward	4 11 0
Allen, Richard, <i>Dublin</i>		1 0 0				Alexander, Miss S.A., <i>Reigate</i>	1 1 0
Allen, John, <i>Liskeard</i>		1 1 0				Alexander, Miss M. B., <i>ditto</i>	1 1 0
Alexander F. <i>Woodbridge</i>		0 10 0				Alsop R., <i>Stoke Newington</i>	2 2 0
Alexander, Mrs. <i>ditto</i>		0 10 0				Anonymous, per <i>Record</i>	
Alexander, J. B., <i>Ipswich</i>		0 10 0				newspaper	10 0 0
Carried forward . £		4 11 0				Carried forward . £	10 0 0
							8 15 0

Donations. Ann.Sub.					Donations. Ann.Sub.										
£ s. d.					£ s. d.										
Brought forward					10	0	0	8	15	0	Brought forward				
Atwell, A. G., Kingsland								1	1	0	Dent, W. Marr				
Backhouse, Miss S., York								1	0	0	Dickenson, Rev. W. W., Ipswich				
Backhouse, J. C., Darlington								2	2	0	Dickenson Henry, Coalbrookdale				
Ball, William, Tottenham								2	2	0	Dickenson, Mrs., Woodbridge				
Banbury, Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association								5	0	0	Dundee Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association				
Barbadoes, W. H. A.					1	1	0				Dunlop, John, Edinburgh				
Barclay, J. G., London					50	0	0				Dymond, John, Exeter				
Bassett, J. D., Leighton Buzzard								2	2	0	Eaton, Joseph, Bristol				
Beaumont, John, Ufford								1	0	0	Edinburgh Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Society				
Beaumont, Wm., New-castle								2	2	0	Elliott, T. & S., Liskeard				
Bell, S. S. & E., Alton								2	0	0	Elliott, M., ditto				
Bewley, Henry, Dublin								2	0	0	Epps, Dr. John, Bloomsbury				
Binns, Thomas, Tottenham								1	1	0	Evesham Ladies' Anti-Slavery Society				
Birmingham Ladies' Negro's Friend Society, &c. (Per Mrs. Mary S. Lloyd)					20	0	0				Exeter Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association				
Bottomley, G., Bradford								0	10	0	Falmouth Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association				
Bowley, Samuel, Gloucester								2	2	0	Farcus, Mrs., N. Shields				
Bowman, Henry, Bakewell								1	1	0	Fisher, Abraham, Youghal				
Boys, Jacob, Brighton								1	1	0	Fisher, Peter M., ditto				
Braithwaite, Isaac, London								1	1	0	Fitzgerald, J., Woodbridge				
Bransby, N., Alton								0	10	0	Fletcher, Caleb, York				
Brewin, Edward, Worcester								2	0	0	Forster, Josiah, Tottenham				
Brown, Francis, Brighton								2	2	0	Forster, Robert, ditto				
Brown, Alfred, Hackney								0	10	0	Forster, W. E., Bradford				
Brown, H., Youghal								0	2	6	Forth, Robert, N. Shields				
Burchett, J. R., London								2	2	0	Foster, Robert, ditto				
Bury St. Edmund's Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association					1	18	0				Fox, F. H., Kingsbridge				
Candler, John, Chelmsford								0	10	6	Geach, Edward, Liskeard				
Carr, The Hon. Chief Justice, Sierra Leone								3	3	0	Glyde, Mrs., Exeter				
Catchpool, Thomas, Colchester								2	0	0	Graham, Thomas, Coalbrookdale				
Charlton, Robert, Bristol								2	2	0	Gundry, Sarah, Calne				
Charlton, Mrs. Elizabeth, ditto								1	1	0	Gurney, Samuel, M.P., London				
Chelmsford Ladies' Negro's Friend Society								2	0	0	Gurney, Edmund, ditto				
Cirencester Anti-Slavery Society								3	0	0	Gurney, Miss Ann, Cromer				
Clarke, Mr. Councillor, Southampton								0	10	6	Harris, F.W., London (2 yrs.)				
Collection in Box, per R. Hutchison, Exeter								0	10	0	Harris, Henry, Bradford				
Collection per Rev. H. Taylor, Woodbridge								1	0	0	Harris, Alfred, ditto				
Cooper, Joseph, Tottenham								1	1	0	Harris, Sarah, ditto				
Crabb, J. B., Southampton								0	5	0	Harvey, Thomas, Youghal				
Cropper, James, Kendal								3	0	0	Heisch, Mrs., Kennington				
Cross, Martha, Colchester								0	10	0	Helston Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association				
Crouch, Edward, Liskeard								0	10	0	Hicks, Charles, Stanstead				
Crowley, Abraham, Alton								2	0	0	Holmes, William, Alton				
Cruikshank, Edward, Edinburgh								0	5	0	Horsnail, Charles, Canterbury				
Curtis, William, Alton								1	0	0	Isaac, J. C., Liskeard				
Darby, Richard, Coalbrookdale								1	1	0	Jamaica, Collection at Public Meeting in Spanish-town				
Darby, Mrs. Rebecca, ditto								1	1	0	Janson, W., Tottenham				
Darby, Mrs. Lucy, ditto								1	1	0	Jessup, James, Halstead				
Darby, Miss Mary, ditto								1	1	0	Jowett, Ben., Pontefract				
Davies, Samuel, Exeter								0	10	0	Kenway, Henry, Birmingham				
Carried forward					£82	19	0	72	8	0	Carried forward				
											£187 19 0 129 4 4				

Donations. Ann. Sub.					Donations. Ann. Sub.					
£ s. d. £ s. d.					£ s. d. £ s. d.					
Brought forward .187 19 0 129 4 4					Brought forward .199 9 6 165 0 4					
King, Henry, <i>Rochdale</i> .			2	0	0	Rothery, William, <i>London</i> , .		1	1	0
Kinsman, Miss, J. G., <i>Devenport</i>			0	10	0	Rowntree, Joseph, <i>York</i> , .		1	1	0
Kitton, Rev. J., <i>Hutton</i> .	0	10	6			Rowntree, W., <i>Scarborough</i> .		2	0	0
Knight, Henry, <i>Swansea</i> .	0	6	0			<i>Saffron Walden Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association</i> , .		11	8	6
Knott, Thomas, <i>Exeter</i> .			0	5	0	Sargant, W. J., <i>London</i> .		1	0	0
Letchworth, Thomas, <i>Exeter</i> .			0	10	0	Scarr, Mrs. <i>York</i>		0	5	0
<i>Liskeard Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association</i> . .			3	3	0	Self, S., <i>Alton</i>		0	5	0
Marett, Charles, <i>Southampton</i>			0	5	0	Smith's Church, <i>Demerara</i> , per Rev. E. A. Wall-bridge		1	14	10
Martin, Henry, <i>Chatham</i> .			0	5	0	Snowden, Ann, <i>Bradford</i> .		0	10	0
Massey, Catherine, <i>Spalding</i>			0	10	0	Southall, Ann, <i>Leominster</i> .		0	10	0
Moor, Rev. E., <i>Woodbridge</i> , .			0	10	0	Spence, J. F. & J., <i>North Shields</i>		0	10	0
Morland, J., <i>Croydon</i> . . .			2	2	0	Spence, Joseph, <i>York</i> . .		1	1	0
Morton, D., <i>Perth</i>	0	5	0			Squire, J. H., <i>Amwell</i> . .		1	1	0
Newman, W. H., <i>Southampton</i>			0	5	0	Stark, Thomas, <i>Mevagissey</i> , .		0	5	0
Norfolk (A Friend in) . . .	0	9	0			Stansfield, John, <i>Bradford</i> , .		0	5	0
Norris, William, <i>Coalbrookdale</i>			0	5	0	Sterry, Henry, <i>Finsbury</i> .		3	3	0
Norris, W. G., <i>ditto</i> . . .			0	5	0	Sterry, William, <i>London</i> .		1	1	0
Norton, W., <i>Woodbridge</i> . .			0	10	0	Sterry, J., <i>ditto</i>		1	1	0
Nutter, W. <i>Birmingham</i> .			2	0	0	Stuart, Capt. Chas., <i>Canada</i>		1	6	0
Ogilvie, H., <i>N. Shields</i> . .			0	2	6	Sturge, Jos., <i>Birmingham</i> , 50 0 0				
Palk, Alderman, <i>Southampton</i>			0	10	6	Tatham, Mary, <i>Headingley</i> , 2 0 0				
Parker, T. G., <i>Preston</i> . . .			1	0	0	Tatum, W., <i>Rochester</i> . .		1	1	0
Paull, Edward, <i>Peckham</i> . .			1	1	0	Taylor, Rev. H., <i>Woodbridge</i> , .		0	10	0
Pease, Edward, <i>Darlington</i> , 10 0 0						Thompson, S., <i>Fordingbridge</i>		1	1	0
Pease, John, <i>ditto</i>			2	0	0	Thompson, F. G., <i>Bridge-water</i>		1	0	0
Pease, J. B., <i>ditto</i>			2	0	0	Thompson, Mrs. Ann, <i>ditto</i> , .		1	0	0
Peek, Richard, <i>Hazelwood</i> , .			1	1	0	Tuke, Samuel, <i>York</i> . . .		1	1	0
Peek, James, <i>London</i>			1	1	0	Veale, J. E., <i>St. Austle</i> . .		0	10	0
Peile, George, <i>Whitehaven</i> .			1	1	0	Veale, Richard, <i>ditto</i> . .		0	10	0
Pim, John, <i>Dublin</i>			2	0	0	Viner, Mary, <i>Bath</i>		2	2	0
Priestman, J., <i>Bradford</i> . .			1	0	0	Walker, Robert, <i>Leeds</i> . .	5	6	0	
Proctor, Joseph, <i>N. Shields</i>			1	1	0	Webster, Rev. J. W., <i>Woodbridge</i>		0	10	0
Proctor, J. R., <i>ditto</i> . . .			0	10	0	Wedgewood, Mrs. Sarah (Executor of)	50	0	0	
Proud, Eliza, <i>Lewes</i> . . .			0	10	0	Widow's Mite, per <i>Record Newspaper Office</i> . . .	0	15	0	
Pow, Robert, <i>N. Shields</i> . .			1	0	0	Wigham, Anthony, <i>Aberdeen</i>		0	10	0
Randal, E. M., <i>Southampton</i>			0	5	0	Wilkey, J. F., <i>Exeter</i> . . .		0	10	0
Rathmel, Mary, <i>Bradford</i> , .			1	0	0	Williams, Dr., <i>York</i> . . .		1	1	0
Richardson, W. <i>Sunderland</i> , .			2	0	0	<i>Worcester Ladies' Anti-Slavery Association</i> . .		5	0	0
Richardson, Isaac, <i>Newcastle</i>			2	0	0	Young, Joseph, <i>Chatham</i> .		1	0	0
Richardson, Mrs. H., <i>North Shields</i>			0	5	0	Young, Mrs. Mary, <i>North Shields</i>		0	5	0
Richardson, Mrs. M., <i>ditto</i> , .			0	2	6	Zachary, Daniel, <i>Stourport</i> , .		1	0	0
Rose, Mrs. Ann, <i>Coalbrookdale</i>			0	10	6	Zachary, Thomas, <i>ditto</i> , .		1	0	0
Carried forward . £199 9 6 165 0 4					Total . £307 10 6 213 19 8					

ANNUAL REPORT.

1858.

THE annual meeting of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society* was held on Saturday, the 29th ultimo, at Freemasons' Hall, the Right Honorable Lord Brougham in the chair. The large hall was crowded, and considerable numbers of persons were obliged to go away, being unable to find standing room. Proceedings commenced at noon. Amongst the persons present were the following:

C. Buxton, Esq., M.P.; T. H. Gladstone, Esq.; Sir John Jackson, (H.M. Commissioner at Loando); Professor Kachenoffsky (of Cracow); N. Kapoustine; S. Lamansky; Baron Linstant de Pradine (Chargé d' Affaires, Haiti); D. Lespinasse (Secretary to the Haytian Legation); Rev. Dr. Macaulay; Rev. Dr. Lloyd; H. Pringle, Esq. (late Stipendiary Magistrate in the West Indies); Sir G. Scotland, C.B.; Rev. John Burnet; Rev. Dr. Carlile; Rev. Dr. Campbell; Rev. S. Hodges, (late Missionary in Jamaica); Rev. Paxton Hood; Rev. W. J. Langdale; Rev. W. Owen; Rev. H. Richard; Rev. W. Rose; Messrs. G. W. Alexander; John Allen; R. Alsop; S. Bourne; T. Binns; J. Beaumont; S. Bowley; J. C. Blackhouse; W. Craft; John Candler; H. Christy; F. Clowes; George Dawson; William Dent; J. R. Dailey; G. Fitzgerald; Francis Fox; R. Forster; Josiah Forster; T. Harvey; Robert Jewitt; S. Lucas; R. Peek; Thomas Pense; John Priestman; G. Ralston; F. Reynolds; Joseph Sturge; H. Sterry; John Southall; J. H. Wilson, &c. &c.

The Secretary having been called upon by the Chairman to read the Report, proceeded to give a verbal abstract of it. Previously to doing so, however, he observed that it was now fifty years ago since a young man named Henry Brougham rose in his place in the House of Commons, and demanded in the name of the people of England that the slave-trade should be made piracy and punished as felony. He succeeded in carrying his motion, and the slave-trade was speedily abolished. It was highly gratifying to the Committee that Lord Brougham had consented to depart from the rule he had been compelled to impose upon himself of not presiding at public meetings, and to make an exception in favour of the *Anti-Slavery Society*.

[The report will be found, in *extenso*, prefixed to the present account of the proceedings at the Annual Meeting.]

LORD BROUGHAM then rose to address the Meeting, and was received with loud and prolonged cheering. He said:

Our worthy Secretary has justly stated that

I had for many years laid down a rule from which I very rarely have departed, except when officially bound, not to attend public meetings. But this is an occasion on which it was impossible for me to refuse breaking through that rule. I have been for upwards of sixty years, though a humble, yet a zealous co-operator with those great men in the Parliament and in the country to whom the abolition of the slave-trade is due. I entirely repudiate what has been said by our worthy Secretary of my having had a principal hand in that great work: I only followed in their track, but I had the unspeakable gratification of carrying through Parliament that Bill which first gave its right name, and fixed its appropriate penalty, to what had formerly been called traffic or trade, but which was really a crime; and since that time at least our hands are free from partaking in the guilt. It was to Thomas Clarkson and his worthy supporters in the Society of Friends, and then to their having their good cause taken up by Wilberforce in the House of Commons, that the abolition of the slave-trade was due primarily, but ultimately to the Ministry of Fox, Grenville, and Grey, in 1807, who, as their last act before quitting office, when an absurd cry raised by intolerance compelled them to do so, passed the Act of 1807 for the abolition of the African slave-trade. Unhappily, that was sought to be accomplished by pecuniary penalties alone; and when I found, two or three years after, that these penalties were altogether insufficient, because in the gambling nature of man, and of slave-traders especially, they could well afford to lose five or six vessels by confiscation, and to pay the penalties of the seizure, provided one out of six cargoes escaped, and brought them the enormous profits which that execrable traffic created; therefore it seemed to me fit—and it is in this respect only that I can be said to have had any effectual hand in the great measure of abolition,—that it should be treated no longer as a mere revenue question, as one of penalties and forfeiture, but as one of penal law, and an act to be punished as a crime, to call and treat as a crime that which it was an outrage upon all common language, an insult to all innocent commerce, ever to call a trade, but which in its origin, in its continuance, and in its results, was felony of the deepest dye. How could I then do otherwise than listen to the call to break through my rule and attend here to-day. When I found that in other countries, on both sides of the Atlantic, there were attempts making to revive the traffic, and go backward to Slavery, the slave-trade itself,

it seemed to me the time had come,—I will not say to shew that in our “ashes live their wonted fire,” but that we had awakened from the slumbering of advanced years—a wakened before descending into the state of feeble, unreasoning, and narrative old age; and that, before ultimately descending thereinto, I should add one more effort for the great cause. Now we ought to be fair and candid to those whose prejudices and whose interests also—for that is no reason why we should not treat them with fairness and candour—incline them to regard with different eyes from our own Slavery and the slave-trade. Prejudice of some kinds appears to be almost incapable of being rooted out. It makes men in slave-countries, and even in countries where Slavery has ceased, have an insuperable aversion to the negro colour in all its shades. When I find this not only in the Slave States of America, where I should have expected it, but in the States where Slavery has long been abolished; when even in the New-England States I find such laws as were made some few years ago, but which have been very recently re-enacted and re-enforced; I cannot help feeling that this is one of the prejudices most deeply rooted in our nature. In one of the New England States, for instance, there is a positive prohibition of the marriage of a white person with a black or mulatto, bastardizing all the issue of such marriages; and that law, not very long ago, was enforced by adding pecuniary penalties, aye! and imprisonment, as a punishment of whoever should join such persons in marriage. In another of these States—I still speak of New England—the rights of free men and of citizens are carefully withheld from the free negro and mulatto. In a third State there is a positive prohibition of any African, or any immediate descendant of an African, save and except subjects of the Emperor of Morocco, residing above two months in any part of the State, and under the pain, if not then removing himself, of severe penalties, enforced in some cases by personal chastisement. There is, too, the prohibition of education under the supposition that the African or his descendant, the mulatto, is incapable of receiving instruction. Why, I have on my left the ambassador from the Emperor of Hayti, a single passage of whose able work, published some few years ago, on African emigration into the French Colonies would put to flight all such phantasies, for a more learned, able, and better-reasoned work it has seldom been my lot to read. But it is not only prejudice as to colour; for even where Slavery has been, and is still continued, there seems a prejudice in favour of that *status*, as it is called, or, as they term it in America, “that institution”—that ancient institution. The antiquity of that “institution” has been even transferred to the slave-trade itself by some of the statesmen of America in a

late debate in Congress. When speaking of the peasantry, as they call the slaves, they say that they are a peculiarly happy and comfortably circumstanced people, and their situation is one which the peasantry of any other country might envy. I had a peculiar instance of the effect of this prejudice where Slavery is concerned in the case, not of an American, but an elderly English gentleman. He was a very kindly-disposed person, as I have a right to say, for in consequence of the respect he was pleased to entertain for my public principles, though an entire stranger to me, having no family of his own, he had made me his heir. He had a West India estate, as well as considerable estates in this country. The year 1833, however, came, and I could not adopt his views on the subject of property in negroes, but continued to hold my own opinions; and I well recollect his expression—and it is precisely the language still held by planters in the southern United States—“Depend upon it,” he wrote, conscientiously and sincerely believing his views were right, and that mine were, what he described them, full of prejudice and fanaticism, “your peasantry,” meaning those in the West Indies, are better off than the peasantry on your estates in England; meaning those which I was to inherit on his decease. I could not quite concur with him in the view he took. I sent him the report by my noble friend the Duke of Richmond, chairman of the committee of the House of Lords on behalf of emancipation, which I hoped would make him regard us with more charity and fairness. I heard no more of him. Soon after the excellent man died, and his will in the meantime had been revoked. The language which my intended benefactor used is an illustration of how impossible it is for the planters—of which he was one—opening their eyes to any thing but that which they desire to see. I have had many struggles with these planters on the subject of Slavery and the slave-trade; but upon one occasion I had them with me as most powerful allies. I mean when, in 1838, I called upon the House of Lords, and rejoice to say ultimately succeeded with it and with the Colonial Legislature to adopt my views. The Jamaica Assembly transmitted a petition of the greatest value against the foreign slave-trade; and it proved of much service in the efforts I was making to shorten the period of negro apprenticeship, which obtained the reducing of it to 1838 from 1840. There is one subject upon which I must be permitted to say a few words: I mean the scheme of what is called free emigration from the coast of Africa. It is the grossest abuse of language to talk of free emigration from Africa. I lately had occasion to see some most respectable and gallant officers who had served in the French navy during the Crimean war, and who had lately been on the coast of Africa as superintendents of the shipment of those so-called free ne-

groes; for it is an excellent regulation of the French Government to have an officer of the navy in every vessel allowed to carry out negroes. I found from them that the mortality on board the vessels—with all the regulations of the French Government—on a 30 days' voyage from Africa to Guadeloupe and Martinique, was as much as 10 per cent. in thirty days. On my asking how the men were obtained, I learned that they were every one of them slaves, purchased for the purpose of being taken on board the French ships. They were slaves brought down to the coast from the interior, and then liberated, in order to be put on board under indentures, which those poor negroes, being, no doubt, excellent French scholars, and well acquainted with the law as to indentures, were supposed to understand the exact nature of, binding them to service for a number of years. Then came that melancholy shipwreck in one of these voyages, which occasioned so much additional loss of life to the poor negroes, and nearly the whole of—I am ashamed to use the word—"the cargo" perished, but none of the white crew. Now it is said, and falsely, that we in England have no ground of complaint against this, because we ourselves supply our colonies with coolies from India and China, and if we do this, the French and Spaniards have an equal right to take negroes from Africa. But the shipment of negroes from the coast of Africa is required for Cuba alone. That is the place to which ninety-nine hundredths of the men are sent, and my informants told me that unless we can thoroughly blockade the coast of Cuba, it will be in vain to expect an end to the system. I agree with those who think that the better course to take is not trusting to any blockade of the Cuban coast—which is almost impossible, owing to the nature of the coast and the coral reefs that abound—but to do all we can in concert with the French Government, in order to obtain the emancipation of the slaves in Cuba itself, where ninety-nine in every hundred of the slaves are by law entitled to their freedom, having been introduced in breach of the Spanish Law, as well as against the treaties, prohibiting the slave traffic altogether. Such a course will have this additional advantage—that while it would directly put an end to the slave-trade and would greatly benefit the negroes of Cuba and their masters, it would wholly put an end to freebooting speculation among our kinsfolk in America, who have a great longing to be able to carry into effect the scheme of obtaining possession of Cuba and adding it to the United States. The instant that emancipation of the slaves takes place there is an end to all such speculation, root and branch; for the great object of those who entertain the notion is to obtain increased preponderance of the slave States in the Union. The peace of the world would thus be secured, as well as the interests of the negro and the planter advanced. The weight

which this country ought to have with the Government of Spain, joined with that of France, brought to bear upon that Government, would, I am convinced, if so employed, soon succeed in obtaining this great advantage to our cause. There never was a greater delusion, if it is not a gross misrepresentation, than to suppose that our importing coolies into our own colonies is any thing like a parallel case to the immigrant traffic carried on by France on the coast of Africa. I utterly object to the coolie trade altogether. I have raised my voice against it, and brought forward motion after motion regarding it. In 1838 I made a struggle against the whole system, and shewed, by the abuses which prevailed, the necessity that existed for putting it under most stringent regulations, if it were not given up altogether. The Duke of Wellington, when he prevented the then Government, against whose orders in council my motion was made, from being defeated, by moving the previous question, distinctly stated that the Government, must, without loss of time, and on the condition of his protecting them, introduce such regulations of which he then gave a draft, as should prevent all possible abuse in that traffic. These regulations were subsequently introduced, and a great step was gained in the cause of humanity. That all abuses were prevented I will not say, but it led to great improvement in the carrying of the coolies from the East Indies to Guiana and the Mauritius. But the grand difference of this coolie emigration is, that they come from a different sort of country—British officers can prevent them from being kidnapped—and see that no force or fraud is used in getting them on board the ships. From the African coast, however, these native Africans are obtained from slave-trading princes, who hunt down the slaves for the purpose of capturing and then selling them as what are called free emigrants. Against this system I do most solemnly protest. But not only is Slavery described by many of its present advocates as a very ancient institution, I see one of the American statesmen has lately stated in the Assembly of the United States that the slave-trade as well as Slavery is a very ancient practice, and that in former times, and in almost all parts of the world, it was carried on. It is ancient, no doubt. But there is another practice still more ancient, not altogether unconnected with slave-trading. I mean the practice of murder, and of the worst sort of murder, parricide; for it does so happen that the first man that was born murdered the second, and that second his brother. I do not think that the antiquity of this practice will be urged as a defence or as a palliation of murder. I have spoken of prejudice as to colour. I recollect my friend Lord Lyndhurst and myself being much entertained with an anecdote related to us by an American gentleman, Envoy to the Hague, who had travelled in Cuba, where he visited a negro gentleman, a proprietor of a large estate, and was received with the utmost

hospitality and luxury. He said that he was rather amused when, after dinner was over, his coloured host said that he was a man without any prejudice, and that whenever he found a person honest, honourable, and respectable in every point of view, he held out the hand of fellowship to him, even though his colour were as white as that table cloth. Now this really shews that the prejudice of colour is not confined to the white people, and that it is just possible that others may entertain the same kind of prejudices as ourselves. We are told that some misrepresentations prevail as to the results of our great measure of emancipation. It has been held forth as having been a complete failure. The report already made by your worthy Secretary shews that there is no foundation for the statement. I find Mr. Governor Hinckes, writing from Barbadoes, in the present year, says that there is one estate which, during the time of Slavery, was worked by 230 slaves, and which was sold for 15,000*l*. Since emancipation it has been worked by 60 free labourers and 30 children, and it has produced three times the quantity of sugar which it formerly did, and was sold last year for 30,000*l*. It might be the case that in some of the West-India islands there was a want of hands, but a noble friend of mine, Lord William Douglas, who owns large property in Tobago, went over a short time since to look into a matter for himself. He set to work and introduced plough husbandry and cattle. He had his prejudices as to want of hands, like other people, but these have been entirely removed by the results which have followed, and he can now cultivate, by means of cattle and implements, with comparatively a very small number of negroes. The utmost exertions are, in my opinion, still necessary, for the purpose of preventing that falsely called system of free emigration from the coast of Africa, on the pretence that hands are wanted. It is neither more nor less than a revival of the African slave-trade. The day upon which I have the honour of addressing you is the anniversary of that when the Stuarts were restored—reminding me of the saying of Fox, that the worst of revolutions is a restoration; for sure I am that if there should be that revival of the African slave-trade, and the threatened steps towards restoring Slavery itself, under new measures, the remark will be found most applicable to the restoration of Slavery in our colonies, and the slave-trade on the African coasts. They cannot, however, well be worse than they were before. Ah! there is another anniversary—it is the 1st of August—a day sanctified, first of all by the accession of the family which now rules this constitutional kingdom—I mean the accession of the House of Brunswick; but still more sanctified in my view by its being the day of the emancipation of our slaves. Heaven forbid that we should ever live to see a step, however little, retrograde in the direction either of the slave-trade or Slavery.

The noble Chairman resumed his seat amidst loud and continued cheers.

The list of officers and corresponding members, and the balance-sheet to the 31st of December, 1857, having been submitted, the following resolution was moved by Baron Lissant de Pradine, Chargé d'Affaires for Hayti.

"That the report, of which an abstract has been read, be printed and circulated under the direction of the Committee, and that the gentlemen whose names have been submitted, be the Committee for the ensuing year, with power to add to their number."

His Excellency, who, at the request of the chairman, addressed the meeting in English, instead of his native tongue, French, said that he had not attended the meetings of the Society for several years past, but had not failed to watch its proceedings with great interest. He considered that the plan which had been sought to be carried out by France, of importing free emigrants from the coast of Africa, would not only lead to a revival of the horrors of the slave-trade, but would have a most injurious effect upon the white and coloured inhabitants of the colonies to which they might be introduced. Europe had contracted towards the African race a debt of honour which she was now called upon to repay. The colonial question was not a question of pounds of sugar and coffee only, it was one of civilization; and it was not by introducing new elements of disorganization into the colonies that they would be civilized: civilization could not come from Africa. The planters when, they cry out for African immigrants, meant to increase the number of labourers at the cheapest rate possible, no matter what became of the Africans ultimately. But the emigrants, upon their return to their own country, would spoil their own countrymen by introducing among them the bad habits which they might have observed in the half-civilized colonies into which they would be introduced, without having acquired any knowledge of agricultural labour. Then would Africa, by this so-called free African emigration, be devastated by a new kind of slave-trade; the emigrants would be worked to death by their greedy employers; and the colonies themselves, arrested in their civilization, would be, sooner or later, lost to their respective mother countries. He was deeply impressed with the wrong which would be done alike to Africa and to the colonies by this system of free emigration, and had, in a paper published in France, stated his reasons why it would be impolitic to continue in that course; and it was to be observed, that at the time of its publication, the French planters were protesting against African immigration, while the English colonists were urging upon Great Britain to carry on the emigration scheme on the largest scale. The cause of the change on the part of the French planters, is that they fancy that the

system of police adopted in the colonies will allow them to do what they like with the imported Africans, who in fact will have to undergo a new kind of Slavery.

Professor D. KATCHZENOFFSKY, of Cracow, seconded the resolution, He said :

He rejoiced to find amongst the countrymen of Clarkson and Wilberforce, the same warm sympathy for the Anti-Slavery cause which prompted them to make their great efforts in it. England had, through them, set the example to the world of destroying Slavery in her colonies, and other nations were following in her footsteps. The existence of the *Anti-Slavery Society* was a living protest against Slave-trading and Slave-holding. Might it exist, and spread its influence in the world, till it attained its final object, the extinction of Slavery on the earth !

Mr. CHARLES BUXTON, M.P., rose to move the second resolution, in doing which, he prefaced his remarks by stating that he had been permitted to speak out of turn, in consequence of his having a pressing engagement elsewhere, and what he had to say would be pertinent to another resolution which was to be submitted later. He vindicated the Act of Emancipation by its results ; for whilst he believed it was in itself a righteous act, they would bear in mind that there existed an extremely large party who wished it to be tested, not on its own merits, but by what it had achieved for the emancipated classes. He was happy to say, that, tried by this standard, it had been eminently successful ; and if it were contested it had not been beneficial to the planters, he thought there was no lack of evidence to prove that any depreciation in the value of estates was attributable to causes which had been in operation many years before the abolition of Slavery took place. It was notorious that the majority of the properties in the island of Jamaica were mortgaged to what turned out to be far beyond their value, and that the compensation-money paid for the slaves passed into the hands of the mortgagees ; London merchants generally, who would not afterwards make advances, so that the estates fell at last either into their hands, or those of the attornies. Absenteeism had been another fruitful source of diminished revenue ; and no doubt the embarrassments of the planters had been augmented by the differences which had arisen between them and the labourers. With regard to the alleged want of labour, he must say that the pamphlet just issued by the Committee of the *Anti-Slavery Society* did certainly prove that the demand for hands was greatly less than was generally believed ; while with regard to Jamaica, it appeared from the testimony of the Society's correspondents that there was really a sufficiency of labour for the actual requirements of the estates. He would leave the facts to speak for themselves, and

would now present a few figures to the meeting, which he thought would tell a tale very different from that which the writers against the negro population of our West-India colonies were endeavouring to make the people of this country believe.

In the first place, far more land was now cultivated by the negroes for their own use, although less with a view to export. Yet, although they had to compete with Cuba, the exports from the West Indies were increasing, with the exception of rum, while their imports shewed a material improvement. The trade to them from this country was equal to that to Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Greece, the Azores, Madeira, and Morocco altogether. It was half a million more in value last year than the year before ; and shewed, for the first four months of the present year, a considerable increase. These were unmistakeable indications of material prosperity, which no mere vague, general assertions could invalidate. With regard to the social advancement of the people, there existed no doubt in his mind on that point ; and he could cordially approve of every word of the resolution he had been requested to move.

The following was the second resolution :

"That this Meeting, while it would impress upon all the duty of labouring for the total and immediate abolition of Slavery throughout the world, as a crime against God, rejoices in the measures now taking in Africa for the production of Cotton, at a price and quality that promise to supersede that cultivated by slaves in the Western world, and trusts that in the future government of India, especial attention will be paid to introduce measures to promote the cultivation of that staple, and of all others now produced by slave-labour."

The Rev. H. RICHARD seconded the resolution, observing that his remarks would bear especially on that passage in it which laid down the principle that slave-holding was a crime before God, and be directed to an exposition of the relation of the American Churches to Slavery, and of their responsibility for its continued existence and extension. He continued :

It is well known that the most eminent and earnest of the American Abolitionists have always strenuously maintained this position, that the Church in the United States has not only proved unfaithful to its high mission in this question of Slavery, but that it constitutes, in fact, the main stay and bulwark of the system. There was a time, I confess, when this appeared to me somewhat of an exaggeration, one of those hyperboles into which even good and honest men are sometimes hurried in the enthusiasm of their advocacy of a great cause. But the more I have inquired into the facts, and the more I have reflected upon the significance and application of those facts, the more I have become convinced that the statement is no exaggeration, but that it is the

bare, literal, sober truth, that the American Church stands at this moment, before the world, as mainly responsible for the existence of American Slavery, with all its crimes and abominations. For let us reflect upon the subject. The religion of an individual or a community is usually regarded as the ultimate safeguard of their virtue, the best court to which conscience can carry up appeals against the decisions of interest and passion. But if that high authority proves to have been suborned, shews that it is guilty not merely of misprision, but of active conspiracy with the offenders, is not every one justified in laying at its door a larger share of the guilt which belongs to any of the parties implicated in the crime. Now if it can be proved that the body of the American clergy convened, and acting together in those Ecclesiastical corporations which assume to be the guardians and representatives of the national Christianity, have uniformly given their suffrage in favour of Slavery, or have tacitly connived at it, is it not obvious they do in fact *become* its principal upholders. For they paralyse the only power that can effectually deal a blow against so gigantic an evil. They put slaveholders, slave-breeders, slave-traders entirely at their ease. They absolve them, beforehand, to their own consciences. They anoint with a soothing, spiritual unguent the festering sore, to which they ought rather to apply the probe and the caustic. Can this be proved against the American clergy? Assuredly it can; for, with the exception of the Society of Friends, there is no religious body in America that has cleared itself of the taint of this great iniquity, though it is but justice to say that there are seceding bodies from nearly all the great denominations who have lifted up a faithful testimony against it; but it is not only true that these large Ecclesiastical bodies have defended Slavery in the abstract, but that they have declared themselves as the defenders of its worst abuses and abominations. There are four features of the system that are especially novel; they are—First, their rejection of the testimony of coloured people in cases of trial. Secondly, the forbidding of education to slaves. Thirdly, buying and selling slaves for gain, or what is called the internal slave-trade; and Fourthly, the denial of the sacredness of the marriage obligation as regards the slaves. Some of the leading religious bodies in America have pronounced in defence of each of these atrocities. Take first, the refusal of the coloured testimony. We find that not only have they approved and vindicated this system as existing in the civil courts, but that they have actually imported the principle into their own Ecclesiastical discipline in spiritual matters. In 1840, the General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church passed the following Resolution: "That it is inexpedient and unjustifiable for any preacher to permit coloured persons to give testimony against white persons

in any State where they are denied that privilege by law." An attempt that was made by a Northern Minister, whose conscience had grown uneasy after the passing of this resolution to get it repealed, proved wholly unsuccessful. But these singular Ecclesiastics, in order to testify their brotherly love for the coloured members of their churches, appended to it another resolution expressing the "undiminished regard of the General Conference for the coloured population." And in respect to the question of educating the slaves, it seems that in the year 1835 one of the Presbyters of Ohio addressed a remonstrance to the Presbyter of Mississippi on the subject of Slavery, objecting, among other things, to the law that forbade them "learning to read the Word of God." This was answered by the Rev. James Smylie, Clerk of the Mississippi Presbytery, in a pamphlet, in which he says, "There are laws existing in both States, Mississippi and Louisiana, accompanied with heavy penal sanction, prohibiting the teaching of the slaves to read, and meeting the approbation of the religious part of the reflecting community." As to the traffic in slaves, the New School Presbyterian Church in Petersburg, Virginia, passed the following astounding resolution, Nov. 16, 1838: "Resolved,—That as slaveholders we cannot consent longer to remain in connexion with any Church where there exists a statute conferring the right upon slaves to arraign their masters before the Judiciary of the Church, and that, too, for the act of selling them without their consent, had and obtained." On the question of the Marriage of Slaves, and the validity of that sacred obligation, we find the Savannah River Baptist Association, in 1835, solemnly decide that slaves separated from their wives and ordered to marry again by their masters are bound to do so. "To forbid, they say, second marriages in such cases, to expose the parties not only to stronger hardships and strong temptations, but to Church censure for acting in obedience to their masters"—the will of those masters being evidently, in the estimation of the Savannah River Baptists, of higher authority than that of God. So, again, we find the Rev. Charles Jones, who is described as a Missionary among slaves, pronouncing this opinion, "It (that is, marriage) is a contract of convenience, profit, or pleasure, that may be entered into and dissolved at the will of the parties, and that without heinous sin or injury to the property interests of any one." Thus it will be seen that the Slavery which the American Church sanctions is not some abstract, possible, imaginary thing, such as they sometimes attempt to describe existing in some arcadian or patriarchal society, where the relation of master and slave is divested of all that is oppressive and obnoxious. No; but it is that coarse, concrete, brutal thing, the operations of which they are constantly witnessing under their

own eyes; that Slavery which buys and sells and gets gain out of the blood and bones and sinews and souls of God's immortal creatures—which tears the screaming child from its mother's arms—which rends asunder husband and wife, and legitimises concubinage and adultery—which dooms its victims to the darkness and degradation of eternal ignorance—which drives the iron of despair into the hearts of myriads of men and women, made after the image of God. It is this thing, with all its hideous horrors—with all its loathsome immoralities—with all its cruel inflictions upon man, and its bold blasphemies against God, that the American Church has dared to place under the sanction of His name, character and religion, who came to preach liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison to them that were bound.

We are told that there is a great revival of religion now going on in America. I allude to that movement in no sneering or sceptical spirit. I am convinced that no man, I will not say merely of a religious spirit, but of a philosophical spirit, who has studied the mysterious operations of the human soul, in its relation with the spiritual world, will dare to brand as mere ebullitions of fanaticism, these remarkable phenomena, that occasionally appear in society. Nothing is more certain than this—that in times past religious revivals have been the means of producing most salutary and lasting effects on the character of whole communities. In proof of this, we need only refer to that which took place in this country, rather more than a century ago, represented by the now illustrious names of Whitfield and Wesley—a revival which ran like a stream of electricity through the whole country, kindling the torpid intellect and conscience of the masses into new life, and originating an impulse, the effects of which on our social, moral and even political life has not yet ceased. I will, therefore, join with no one in sneering at the movement in America. But the great Founder of our religion has left us an infallible test by which to judge of their genuineness. “Ye shall know them by their fruits.” I have no faith in mere religious emotion, however real and intense it may appear at the moment, unless it is followed by the practical points of virtue and obedience. So we may say, that if our American brethren are content with mere emotional excitement, the luxury of tears, the outward show of penitence and devotion, without having their conscience stimulated to a sense of great practical iniquities, national as well as individual, is it not likely that they will have the same language—slightly altered—addressed to them that was formerly addressed to the Jews, “Is this such a revival as I have chosen, a day for a man to afflict his soul? Is it to bow down his head like a bulrush, and to spread sackcloth and ashes under him? Wilt thou call this a revival and

an acceptable day to the Lord? Is not this the revival I have chosen? to loose the bands of wickedness, to undo the heavy burdens, to let the oppressed go free, and that ye break every yoke.” I believe, my lord, that as a Christian and civilised nation we have a right, and that we are bound to exercise it, and to use such moral influence as we possess, in support of those who are contending with this great evil on the other side of the Atlantic. We have no right to do it in an arrogant, pharisaical, dictatorial spirit. We are not in a condition to go and stand before any nation, thanking God that we are not like other men. Heaven knows there are misdeeds enough to lay at our own door, there is guilt enough lying upon our national conscience. We have but to cast our eye at this moment to the East, to find ample ground for self-humiliation. We have but to pronounce the word that is now trembling on every lip—the word India—a country which we have won by rapacity and violence, but which we have not known how to govern with justice, moderation, and mercy. But while acknowledging thus our own shortcomings, I do not think these should seal our lips in the presence of so great an abomination as Slavery existing in the midst of a neighbour and kindred nation. No; I think we have a right to go to them and to say kindly but firmly, Brethren, in the name and for the honour of the Anglo-Saxon race, from which you have derived in common with ourselves your origin, and to a large extent your institutions, laws and literature, for the honour of that ancient race, so long distinguished by its indomitable love for freedom, blot out from your statute-book those abominable laws, against which the universal conscience of humanity revolts and rebels. In the name of that holy religion which we profess in common, cancel from the records of your Ecclesiastical Judicatories,—and, if you can, bury them ten thousand fathom deep in the heart of the ocean, beyond the reach of human memory,—those decisions and deliverances by which in a moment of moral and spiritual hallucination you have placed under the sanction of the holy name of Christ a system of oppression and uncleanness. Far from the brow, the fair and majestic brow of your young Republic, this terrible blister, which mars its glory, consumes its vigour, threatens its very existence, which enables the grinning tyrants of Christendom to point at you the slow unmoving finger of scorn, and to fling back in your face with contempt every protest you utter in favour of human liberty. Let America stand up before heaven, with an erect attitude, and an unclouded brow, without this blotch upon her beauty, without this stain upon her reputation, without this canker eating into her strength, and what strides onwards may she not make, what glorious triumphs may she not achieve, what an inspiring example may she not give to other nations of progress in civilisation and free-

dom, and thus fulfil the prediction of one of our own poets, that she shall prove "time's noblest offspring, as its last."

The third Resolution was proposed by Mr. JOSEPH STURGE. It was as follows:

"That this Meeting desires to express its unqualified gratification at the vigorous and enlightened measures which have been adopted by His Imperial Majesty the Emperor of All the Russias, for the extinction of serfdom throughout his vast dominions; and its conviction that they will, under the Divine blessing, largely promote the prosperity of the Empire, and that the ultimate establishment of the great principle of human freedom will secure the moral elevation and happiness of his subjects."

Mr. Sturge said:

Before passing the resolution which I hold in my hand, I wish to say a few words in reference to that which has just been passed. There is no doubt that with the proper development of the tropical productions, grown by free labour, in Africa and India, the slave-produce of the Western world might be superseded in the great markets of consumption in Europe or elsewhere. In Africa the progress in the growth of cotton is very encouraging, greatly through the exertions of Thomas Clegg, of Manchester, and it is well known that to this subject Dr. Livingstone means to pay especial attention. The misgovernment of India has hitherto been a barrier to the exhaustless supply which might be drawn from thence; but I trust the government will in future pay especial attention to this as a far more effectual means to destroy Slavery and the slave-trade than the employment of cruisers. In reference to the decrease in the exports of rum from the West Indies referred to by Charles Buxton, I hope it arises from the same source that operated on an estate in which I am interested, the giving the labourers the molasses as a perquisite for their own use, instead of making them into rum. I am sorry to say, that though the regulations for the import of coolies in British ships may be good, they are so far disregarded that the mortality is sometimes as great as in slave-ships. I hope the British Government will prohibit it altogether; and if Spain persist in continuing the slave-trade in violation of the most solemn treaties, and after the large amount of money she has taken to abolish it, I trust we shall refuse to receive any of her sugars into this country. I am in favour of free-trade, but not in stolen goods. With regard to the resolution which I have been requested to move, it is a striking fact, that while in France and the United States, with all their boast of liberty, the Anti-Slavery Question appears to be retrograding, the Emperor of Russia is taking decisive measures to secure the complete freedom of the many millions of serfs in his dominions, and I have the more pleasure in second-

ing this Resolution, because I am persuaded that the Emperor is actuated by a sincere desire to promote the welfare and happiness of this class of his subjects, and not from merely political considerations, however the true quietness of his Empire may, and I have no doubt will, be promoted by it.

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. Dr. Carlile, of Woolwich, who said:

"In seconding the resolution, so appropriately placed in the hands of my honoured friend, it is not my intention to detain the meeting by any lengthened remarks. The meeting is already protracted. Other speakers are to follow me; and happily the motion does not require it. I cannot refrain, however, from saying, in justice to His Imperial Majesty, the Emperor of all the Russias, and what information derived from peculiar, and certainly authentic sources, enables me to say, that in originating and prosecuting this magnificent measure,—a measure, let me add, which will shed a lasting glory on his amiable character and beneficent reign—he has no regard to questions of state policy, or mere personal ambition, but is actuated by the purest motives; and aims to accomplish, by the blessing of God, the most glorious ends."

LORD BROUGHAM expressed his entire concurrence with Dr. Carlile, relative to the humane and benevolent intentions of the Emperor.

The fourth resolution was as follows:

"That this Meeting condemns as calumnious the statements which have recently been circulated, in depreciation of the Abolition of Slavery by Great Britain, and of the emancipated population of the British West-India Colonies, and emphatically affirms that they have nobly and triumphantly vindicated their right to freedom, and the justice of the Act of Emancipation, by the signal progress they have since made, socially, morally, and religiously; and that there is abundant evidence to show that where the labourers are properly located and cared for, adequately remunerated for their work, and faith kept with them in the punctual payment of their wages, their services may usually be secured to an extent which proves there is no real want of labour in the Colonies; and while it would advocate immigration on terms that should leave the immigrant free to select his own master, to fix his own conditions of service, and to obtain the market value of his labour; it condemns all schemes of immigration that violate these principles as tending to introduce a system of coerced labour utterly at variance with the spirit of the Emancipation Act."

It was moved by the Rev. S. HODGES, late Missionary in Jamaica. He said:

Nothing but a deep sense of duty would have induced me to comply with the invitation to offer a few remarks on the results of emancipation in Jamaica. I could not resist the conviction that I should be wanting in regard

for the poor black people in that island if I did not say a word or two on their behalf. No statements can be further from the truth than those put forth in the "Times," in reference to the social, moral, and religious condition of the free black and coloured population. I am personally acquainted with thousands who are *socially* in a better position than some who were once their oppressors and taskmasters. I know one young man who is lessee of a property on which he was born a slave, and when securities were required to sign the necessary documents before he was legally put in possession of the property, he had no difficulty in obtaining them in the persons of two respectable gentlemen. This same man has built a house on his own freehold worth 150*l.*, and is bringing up a large family respectably. I may mention also another fact, of a black man, who possesses a property consisting of 150 acres of land; ten or fifteen head of cattle, besides horses and mules, all bought and paid for honestly by the labour of his own hands. It is one of the foulest slanders that was ever uttered to say that the negroes are "squatters." The proprietors and lessees of properties in Jamaica take good care Quashie shall not squat; for if the purchase-money, or rent, is not paid, blackey will get up one of these fine mornings and find a drove of cattle amongst his yams, or his hut tumbling about his ears. It may be stated without fear of contradiction, that 100,000 acres of land have been bought and paid for by the negroes since freedom, and that tens of thousands of these broad acres are under cultivation. There is raised annually by the black people for exportation a very large proportion of the coffee that finds its way to the English market, besides sugar, pimento, beeswax, honey and arrowroot. They raise nearly all the yam and other ground provisions (but no mangoes, as Expertus gravely states) together with thousands of bushels of corn, for home consumption. Very many of these slandered people have built substantial cottages, and have, in some instances, handsomely furnished them. There are not less, I should think, than 50,000 of these dwelling-houses to be found in various parts of the island where free villages and townships have been erected. And if some of these free villages are not as clean as they might, and ought to be, they are infinitely better than those miserable places to be found on some estates. I have seen negro huts on estates that no decent black man would think of taking a night's lodging in under any circumstances. But who are to blame for the present condition of our towns and villages? What have the lords of the soil, our legislators and rich merchants, done to improve the sanitary condition of our towns? If the negroes are socially any better than the beasts of the earth, they owe it not to those gentlemen. "Expertus" may sneer at the psalm-singing negro, but there are many, very many amongst them,

that, for honest industry and morality, are taking a higher position in the social scale than many of the "intrepid Englishmen" that Expertus refers to.

The *moral condition* of the negro is far superior to that in the days of Slavery. I am not going to say that the people have no faults, that they have made all the improvement they ought to and might have made, considering the advantages they have enjoyed; but it must be remembered that many things that are publicly noticed and pronounced immoral *now*, were not brought to light in the days of Slavery, nor even regarded as breaches of morality. And has not the negro had many adverse influences to contend with, arising from his former state? Are there no bad examples set him by men of fairer skin? Have we no immoral planters, no dishonest merchants, no priggish lawyers in Jamaica, whose example exerts a baneful influence upon the whole community? Can we wonder then the negro has made no greater improvement since freedom? I think not. To me it is a matter for thankfulness to Almighty God that vice in any form has been checked, and that the moral condition of thousands of black persons will bear comparison with any similar class of men in any country under heaven.

The *religious improvement* of the negro has been most decided, notwithstanding every drawback. Their attendance on the means of grace, their devotion, and benevolent efforts to sustain their religious and educational institutions, will vindicate them from the charge of heathenism. There is raised annually not less than 50,000*l.* for religious and educational purposes, by far the largest amount of which is contributed by the negro. There is now a spirit of inquiry re-awakened in some parts of the island amongst the black people, about the education of their children. Some have said to me, that they want their children to get on, and they are willing to pay for their instruction if they are properly taught. I know two day schools, one of which averages 30*l.*, and the other 20*l.* per annum, from the children's pence, and the parents paying these fees are all working men and field labourers.

I am of opinion that 50,000 able-bodied, intelligent, and Christian immigrants, would be a blessing to the country, and would be well received by the natives; but as far as my observation and experience go, I do not think more labourers are needed unless a larger number of acres of land are brought under cultivation. I do not think, however, that the planter intends to extend cultivation, but he wants immigrants, to replace creole labour. On the north side of the island I know of no estates that have suffered, or, are suffering for want of hands; but this I know, that there are some who deserve to suffer, because the people are not properly or regularly paid for their work. I have heard of no complaint

where the people are treated as rational beings and honest men. The fact is, the old spirit of negro hating seems to reign in many hearts, and until men can be found that will treat the labourer as a fellow-man and a brother, it is vain to hope for a better state of things.

The Resolution was seconded by the Rev. Dr. WILLIS, Principal of Knox College, Toronto, and President of the *Upper Canada Anti-Slavery Society*.

"He entered into a brief refutation of the fallacies of the argument by which some still sought to vindicate slave-holding. A superficial theology had led some American divines—he regretted to say, some Scottish ones—to apologise for this nefarious system. Those who pleaded the permission of the God of Israel for the enslaving of the heathen, might as well plead the example of Abraham, in a special case, in the right of parents to offer up their children in sacrifice; or, by a similar conversion of special dispensations into precedents, they might justify invasion by any people upon conterminous territories by the example of Israel's invasion of Canaan. The distinct command of God may make that right which in other circumstances would be wrong. Hence the fallacy of the metaphysical distinction of right and wrong, *per se*. Some theologians say, Slavery is not *per se* wrong, having been permitted once; as well might they say, murder is not *per se* forbidden. We say, killing is certainly not in every case murder; but without a command from God, as to Abraham, it was murder. So is slaveholding, without his special permission, fraud, and injustice, and oppression; and especially such slaveholding as the world has long witnessed; not the patriarchal nor the Israelitish servitude, but something essentially different, which reduces man to a chattel, and renders him a veritable thing, without respect to rights of conscience, any more than rights of citizenship. He glanced at the equally absurd plea, founded on the alleged silence of the New Testament; or the general command to servants, including slaves, to be in subjection to their masters. The New Testament, as Paul had justly laid it down, dealt in general rules; but these necessarily were limited by the principles of morality and right elsewhere found in Scripture. The commands to servants, to children, to wives, to subjects of civil authority, all came under the qualification implied in the law of nature; else submission must be universal; aye, the most unrighteous laws must be obeyed. Then no constitutional protection against despotism would be permitted to national bodies; parents might claim powers of life and death; polygamy might be thus defended, and every natural right of man ignored. The law of contract, if not expressed in the New Testament, was implied in the com-

mand to masters, to give to their servants what is just and equal. And the fact, that such injunctions of obedience to masters were found side by side with the ethics of the New Testament, applicable to the permanent relations of society,—those of parents and children, husbands and wives—this very fact shews that the Apostles are treating not of servitude in the special form which it assumes under the violent and unnatural perversions of the slave-law proper, but in its essential characters, or of master and servant as a relation common to all times, and inseparable from the constitution of society. But it is ever to be remembered, that the Christian law is designed to bear on all relations, or to form and model the very constitutions of society; and as far as Slavery is concerned, it is not merely its abuses, as they have been termed, which ought to yield to the influence of the Gospel, but Slavery itself, for Slavery is itself the *abuse* of the authority, or of the law of service which religion, or the law of nature, warrants.

Dr. Willis entered into some interesting rehearsals of what he had seen in Canada, of the working of Slavery in the United States. Many forced themselves away from Southern servitude to seek an asylum in that land of freedom; they had the satisfaction of bearing testimony to the hospitality given to those poor fugitives, and the care of their moral as well as physical amelioration. He had seen the flourishing settlement at Buxton, and had a small proprietary interest in those lands cleared in Western Canada, to enable the poor strangers to acquire a resting-place on easy terms. He had seen their smiling gardens and fields. He had visited their schools. He had had the privilege and honour to dispense the sacred ordinance of the Lord's Supper to the children of Ham, no longer restrained from full enjoyment of Christian rights; and altogether those sons of Africa had proved their capability, under any thing like equal advantages, to rise in the scale of social and economical advancement, just like other races of men. Dr. Willis expressed the pleasure with which he had enjoyed the present opportunity of attending the anniversary of this time-honoured Society, and of seeing it presided over by the noble lord, who had laid the friends of freedom under so many obligations, and who, though he had spoken of it as one more occasion which he could not but embrace to manifest his hatred of Slavery, and his sympathy with the oppressed, was, he hoped, not even now for the last time, rendering his invaluable countenance and patronage to so sacred a cause.

MR. T. H. GLADSTONE, moved the fifth resolution, and said:—

"My Lord, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—The resolution I have the honour of submitting to you, calls upon us to rejoice—and I feel we shall all

most heartily do so—that the slave-trade has ceased in connexion with Brazil. The resolution at the same time calls upon us to deplore the vast extent to which, in spite of treaties, the traffic in slaves is still carried on with the Island of Cuba; and it brings before our notice and demands of us an earnest protest against the system which has been recently commenced under the sanction of the French Government, whereby, under the name and pretence of free immigration, Africans are being transported to the West-Indian Colonies, and bound to a service there which practically constitutes nothing short of a revival of the old and hated slave-trade. That a scheme thus fraught with evil should have met with countenance, and even advocacy, from some portion of our own British public, may well excite our surprise, and is sufficient to shew how essentially necessary it is clearly to bring before our view the whole facts of the case, and to examine the subject in all its bearings, lest in our haste to respond to a demand for labour, the grounds of which are themselves open to question, we commit ourselves to a system which, when we see it in its practical working, may bring disgrace to our name, and give pain to all the better feelings of our nature.

“As special reference is made in this resolution to Slavery and the slave-trade in Cuba, as well as to those systems of apprenticeship or temporary service which are adopted in connexion with coolie or African so-called free immigration, I may be allowed, my Lord, as an eye-witness, to give testimony as to one or two points connected with the condition of the negro and of the Chinese coolie in the Spanish West Indies. I will not at this time speak of the enormities connected with the slave-trade, which, in flagrant violation of the treaties with our own Government, is carried on in the sight of all men to an extent almost incredibly large upon the coast of Cuba; nor will I pain you with a recital of the sufferings and wrong by which such a commerce, carried on in an illicit manner, is almost of necessity accompanied.

“I will merely refer, as bearing upon the question of the condition of immigrant labourers of whatever colour bound to a term of service, to that of the coolies from China as exhibited in Cuba. That condition, all who have witnessed it will bear me out in saying, is one of almost unmitigated hardship. Living indeed in separate quarters from the slaves, it is nevertheless almost impossible to say in what respect their lot is lighter than that of the slaves at whose side they work. Their daily toil is of equal duration, pursued under the same overseership, and enforced by the same rigorous discipline. The severity of the labour is one of the chief hardships the Cuban slave has to complain of; and the yellow-faced coolie has to submit to a toil equally severe, equally destructive to human life. One of the principal

planters and slave-owners in the Island of Cuba, has admitted to me that the average length of life for the slave after entering upon full work does not exceed ten years. As boys they may work and do work for some years previously upon short hours; but as soon as he is placed upon full work, the slave in Cuba may count his expectancy of life by the narrow limit of ten years! And if this be the case with the slave, in whose life the planter has the interest of ownership, how does it stand with the coolie in whose life and strength his master has but an eight years' interest? Planters have admitted to me, that at the end of the eight years the instances can only be exceptional in which the coolie will be in life to enjoy the liberty which will then be his. Awful as it is to contemplate, the term of service and the term of life will have expired together. Facts such as these are difficult of belief, save to those who are familiar with the scenes which a Cuban plantation daily presents.

“Let me instance, as I am anxious to speak of the condition of the coolie rather than that of the slave, a scene which came under my own eye in Cuba two years ago, in which one of this class of labourers was concerned. I was riding at an early hour one morning in company with a planter, to a sugar plantation at some distance from his own. On our exit from a wood, we were startled by suddenly coming upon a bent figure, creeping by the side of the trees; it was that of a Chinese coolie, *his only covering a fragment of dress upon his shoulders*, his body bent and bruised, his face horribly haggard, his hair in wild disorder, his wild glaring eye betokening too clearly that his intellect was gone. Whatever Spanish he may have learned he had forgotten. In answer to our inquiries, he muttered a few words in his own Chinese. We pointed to the plantation we were about to visit and whence he had evidently escaped, indicating that he should return. His only reply was to point with his finger to his open mouth to express that, being robbed of reason, he was now left to starve; and then to the marks upon his back, to shew that his cruel masters had driven him forth by the lash, body and mind a wreck together. We rode onwards to the plantation, leaving the poor man whom we had no power to relieve. After being shewn over the sugar-works by the *administrador*, my companion, a planter of very humane feelings, spoke of the wandering coolie, and sought in every way to win from the *administrador* a promise that he should sent after him, but to no effect. A shrug of the shoulders was the answer to every question. The case was evidently hopeless. In the evening of the day, my friend, at whose plantation I was staying, was conversing of the affairs of the island, when suddenly and mournfully he said, ‘You saw that man this morning; poor fellow, a maniac and starving beneath the hot sun of this day, before

this hour he is dead; he cannot have lived through the day.' This encouraged me to ask my Spanish friend, whether, if compassion had no influence, self-interest would not lead the planter to bring back to work a labourer in whose service he had interest and profit. 'You do not understand it, was the reply; 'driven by ill-treatment to the condition of a maniac, it would be at the least many weeks before the man could be restored to health, and even after long care his labour might be of little value,—cheaper to let him die.'

"My Lord, I state these facts to shew that we need some guarantee under a system of immigration, that the condition of the labourer during the years of service for which he is bound, shall not be one as bad as that under the old system of Slavery. But it is not alone at the final destination of the emigrant, in the servitude to which he may be subjected, that Slavery may be revived. We have all the horrors of the slave-trade re-enacted in the scenes of warfare and plunder which this scheme has introduced amongst the African tribes, whence the emigrants are taken. Their emigration is not an act of free-will, but of robbery and outrage on the part of the chiefs by whom they are captured and handed over to the traders, and one of compulsion in the midst of darkest ignorance, when it comes to entering into a contract with the poor creatures after they are taken on board the ship. I say nothing of the frightful events which mark the passage to their destination. Let the 'Stella' with her cargo of 950 taken on board in Africa, and 565 only landed alive in Guadaloupe,—a human body cast over the ship's side every two hours during a thirty days' passage,—let a history like this convey to our minds, if it be possible, the deadly horrors of the middle passage under this new system of 'free immigration.'

"But I must conclude my remarks. I am sorry the time of this meeting will not permit the fuller discussion of this momentous subject. From whatever point of view regarded, the scheme which has met with such high sanction, is fraught with peril to the interests of humanity. I would only remind you in conclusion, my Lord, that on the shores of Africa there is a rising commerce among the native tribes, and there are beginnings of civilisation and Christianity, which cheer the heart of every lover of his race, but which this new scheme is already scattering to the winds. If we wish to see Africa blessed with a peaceful commerce and advancing civilisation; if we wish to see the fruits of Christian teaching amongst the native tribes; if we would not drive them back, let me rather say, into their former barbarism; if we would rescue them from those frightful slave-hunts, and that system of warfare between tribe and tribe, which in all its former horrors the last twelvemonth has witnessed the revival of, in order to supply human beings for this new traffic; if we would save humanity the

disgrace of making the ocean a vast burial-place for the victims of its cupidity, and reddening the rivers with their blood; lastly, if we would rescue our fellow-beings from being delivered over, having escaped a death which has carried off so many of their companions to a servitude from which death itself may be a wished-for deliverance,—if we would rescue, I say, those who are flesh and blood with us from this vast aggregate of oppression, let us raise a united voice against this stupendous wrong, and demand that, under the name and pretence of 'free immigration,' the world shall not witness its disgrace in the creation of a new slave-trade, with all the enormities and crimes which belong to the hateful trafficking in human flesh. I have great pleasure in moving the following Resolution:

"That this Meeting, while expressing its satisfaction that the slave-trade to Brazil has ceased, deplores the lamentable extent to which it is still carried on to the island of Cuba, and condemns, in the strongest terms, as in every respect identical with it, the attempts which are being made, under the sanction of the French Government, to obtain so-called immigrants from Africa. It also views, with considerable alarm and regret, the efforts of interested parties in this country, to induce the British Government to promote a scheme of unlimited immigration, by means of what are styled immigration treaties with the African Chiefs, and would encourage the friends of emancipation to oppose, in the most determined manner, a project which is detrimental, in the highest degree, to the interests of legitimate native commerce, fraught with danger to the peace and happiness of the African people, and fatal to the progress of civilization and Christianity amongst them. In recording this protest, the Meeting would express the opinion, that so long as the British Government does not prohibit the traffic in Coolies from India and China, the moral force of its remonstrances with Foreign Governments against the prosecution of the slave-trade and kindred enterprises, is greatly impaired, and that no course is more calculated to strengthen a pro-slavery policy abroad, and to defeat the great object of the total abolition of Slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world."

LORD BROUGHAM here rose and stated, that in consequence of the French immigration scheme, the king of Dahomey had recommenced his wars, and prohibited commerce.

The Resolution was seconded by Mr. JOHN ALLEN, of Liskeard, who said:

"Being called on unexpectedly to second the resolution, it would not be proper for me at this late hour to detain the company long. But when we look back on the long course of efforts in the Anti-Slavery cause made by the noble chairman and his coadjutors, and see that much still remains to be accomplished, it may be well for us, as an encouragement to further exertions, to

turn to what has been already achieved, and to mark the success which has attended those efforts.

"First was that noble act the emancipation of all the slaves in the British colonies, by which 800,000 coloured people were elevated from oppression,—a disinterested generous measure, and one which has been signally blessed. Some persons say, 'Oh, emancipation has proved a failure;' but abundant evidence has been produced to this meeting to shew, that on the contrary the coloured people are rising rapidly in the scale of social, mental, and religious elevation, while commerce is greatly increasing. And I am glad to find that the evidence is to be given to the public in a cheap and popular form which has long been wanted, and will be most useful.

"Next is the abolition of the slave-trade by Brazil, which formerly carried it on to a fearful extent. Let us hope that the Brazilian authorities will gradually become still more enlightened, and will ere long abolish Slavery itself.

"Another encouraging circumstance is the legitimate commerce which has sprung up on the coast of Africa, where the native chiefs have at length discovered that it is more profitable to themselves to trade in the productions of the soil, than in the persons of their subjects. I rejoice to think that this commerce has been wisely promoted by the British Government, especially in the visiting of the coast periodically by steamers, for trading and other purposes.

"Then, again, the abolition of serfdom throughout the whole Russian empire, as already mentioned, affords encouraging proof of the prevalence of righteous principles over long-cherished prejudices of darkness and despotism.

"If we turn to the United States of North America, the prospect is still gloomy and discouraging; but of one thing we may rest assured, that if the religious movement, which has been spoken of is sincere and permanent, as I trust it is, its fruits must and will be seen in the abolition of Slavery within the present generation.

"These and many other facts may well encourage the friends of the negro to further exertions. I cordially second the motion."

Mr. G. W. ALEXANDER rose to propose a vote of thanks to the Chairman, and expressed the gratification which it afforded the friends of the Society to have the veteran champion of the great cause of the abolition of the slave-trade and Slavery in the place which he occupied on that occasion. Mr. Alexander also confirmed, as the result of personal investigation in the West Indies, the statements that had been made relative to the immense benefit which had resulted to the coloured population of the British West Indies by the Act of Emancipation.

Mr. THOMAS BINNS said that in asking permission cordially, although in one brief sentence, to second the motion of a vote of thanks to Lord Brougham, for his energetic, consistent, and long-sustained exertions in this great cause of humanity, he believed that he should have the hearty concurrence of every individual in that large assembly.

The vote of thanks was voted unanimously, and, Lord Brougham having bowed his acknowledgements, the Meeting separated

British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

AT a MEETING of the COMMITTEE, held at 27, NEW BROAD STREET, London, the 4th of JANUARY, 1870, the following Minute was unanimously adopted:—

“The attention of this Committee has been turned to a report, which has gained currency in several of the American newspapers, to the effect that Immigration on an extensive scale, from China to the Southern States, is in contemplation.

“Whilst this Committee disclaims all desire to interfere with Immigration when it is perfectly free, and conducted upon fair and just principles, it has great cause to view with alarm and distrust Immigration from less enlightened and less civilised nations into countries where slavery has recently had an existence.

“The past experience of Great Britain has painfully shown that it is almost impossible in such cases to prevent kidnapping, oppression, and fraud.

“This has been found especially the case where contracts, made with such persons in their own country, are legally binding in the country in which such contracts are to be fulfilled.

“In such cases it has frequently happened that Immigrants become marketable property—are openly bought and sold, and thus many of evils of slavery are re-introduced.

“There is also a danger that native labour may be depreciated and displaced, and a *caste* introduced into the country, by which labour itself may be degraded.

“This Committee, therefore, ventures very respectfully to suggest to the friends of freedom in the United States the necessity of great vigilance, in order that evils of such magnitude may be effectually prevented.”

